JOSEPH H. GREENBERG

EUROPEAN AND ITS CLOSEST RELATIVES

The Eurasiatic Language Family

Volume 2 Lexicon

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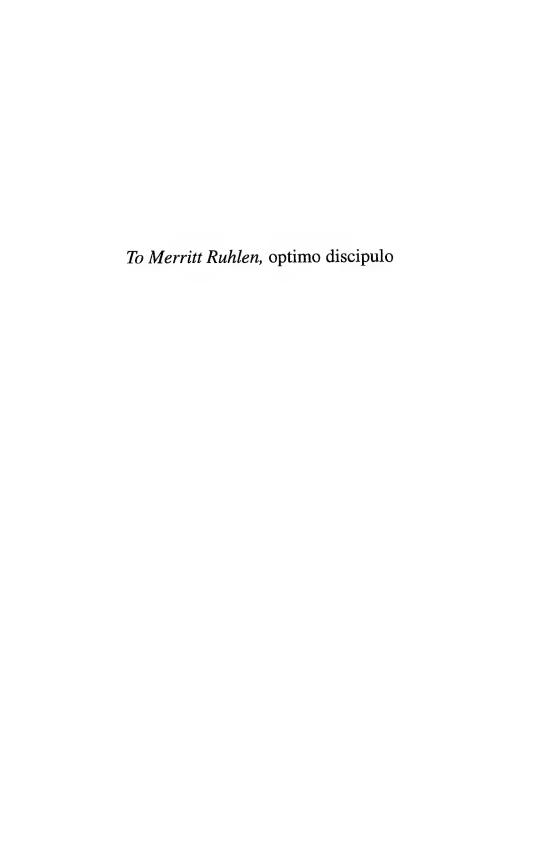
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Indo-European and Its Closest Relatives

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In this volume I will present lexical evidence for the validity of Eurasiatic as a linguistic stock. Grammatical evidence for Eurasiatic was discussed in Volume 1. Since some of the relevant etymological material has already been published in the work of Nostraticists (Illich-Svitych 1971–84, Bomhard and Kerns 1994, Dolgopolsky 1998), this volume will emphasize those etymologies involving Ainu, Gilyak, Chukotian, and Eskimo-Aleut, languages generally omitted from Nostratic studies. Since this is a first attempt of this nature, what a single individual can accomplish in a limited period of time is inevitably incomplete. Of course even in Indo-European studies, which have been carried out for over two centuries by hundreds of scholars, new etymologies are still discovered, so in a sense all etymological dictionaries are forever incomplete.

With regard to the methodology of genetic classification the reader is referred to Chapter 1 of Language in the Americas, a discussion that applies equally to Amerind and Eurasiatic. However, the remarkably naive notions generally entertained—at least by American historical linguists—equating regular sound change with regular correspondences is discussed in a section concerning the "irregularity" of English 'mother,' but German Mutter, as opposed to English 'brother' corresponding to German Bruder. These forms are distinct outcomes of the famous Verner's law that was the starting point of

the neogrammarian doctrine that sound laws have no exceptions.

In completing this work I have two great indebtednesses to acknowledge. One is to Merritt Ruhlen, who made material contributions to the etymologies themselves. The other is to my dear wife Selma, who generously did not stint in giving the limited portion of time alloted to me to complete the second volume.

Although no thorough review of the methodology of classification seems necessary, for reasons given above, something has to be said about the strange and widely disseminated notion that I seek to replace the comparative method with a new and strange invention of my own. I have discussed more thoroughly the notion of multilateral comparison as the basis for genetic classification in several recent papers (Greenberg 1996, 2000b) and the reader is urged to read these papers for a fuller account.

The Genetic Position of Eurasiatic

The Eurasiatic family is most closely related to the Amerind family, with which it shares numerous roots (Ruhlen 1994a). This is most strikingly shown by the root ma-n/ma-k/ma-r 'hand, give, measure,' a complex set of related formations (No. 194 in the present volume). A very similar root is characteristic of Amerind languages (Greenberg 1987: 57–58, 229–30), but is not found elsewhere to the best of my knowledge. Table 1 gives representative forms from both Eurasiatic and Amerind. The Eurasiatic–Amerind family represents a relatively recent expansion (circa 15,000 BP) into territory opened up by the melting of the Arctic ice cap. Eurasiatic–Amerind stands apart from the other families of the Old World, among which the differences are much greater and represent deeper chronological groupings.

Table 1. A Eurasiatic-Amerind	Root
EURASIATIC	AMERIND
Indo-European *me- 'measure'	Algonquian *mi:- 'hand'
Gilyak -ma (classifier for spans)	Uto-Aztecan *ma- 'hand'
	Salinan ma: 'hand'
	Mixe ma 'give'
	Maidu ma 'hand'
	Sara amo 'hand'
Indo-European *mə-n- 'hand'	Tanoan *man 'hand'
Yurak mana 'finger'	Tequistlatec mane 'hand'
Yukaghir min- 'take'	Hokan $*ma(n)$ 'hand'
Tungus *mana 'paw'	Ayoman man 'hand'
Korean manei 'touch'	Mayna mani 'arm'
Ainu amunin 'forearm'	Kamakan mane 'give'
Gilyak man 'measure'	Urubu-Tapuya uamon 'hand'
Koryak mənəqal 'hand'	Kushichineri no-min 'hand'
Indo-European *mə-r- 'hand'	Ona mar 'hand'
Finno-Ugric *merə- 'measure'	Qawashqar merr 'arm'
Korean mal 'measure'	Kahuapana imira 'hand'
Gilyak mel- 'upper arm'	Guato mara 'hand'
Uralic *miye 'give'	Kwakwala maχwa 'give a potlatch'
Ainu imeka 'gift'	Uto-Aztecan *maka 'give'
Gilyak imy- 'give'	Coahuiltecan *make 'give'
	Tupi *me?eŋ 'give'
	Bororo mako 'give'
	Tewa megeh 'give'
	Salinan ma?a 'bring, carry'
	Totonac makan 'hand'
	Panoan *mɨkɨnɨ 'hand'
	Quechuan *maki 'hand'
	Lengua amik 'hand'

Caranga maka- 'receive' Caripuna moken 'hand'

On the Relation between Sound Correspondences and Regular Sound Changes, and the Supposed Universality of the Latter

It seems to be generally believed that sound correspondences and regular sound changes are simply to be equated and that, in conjunction, they form the basis of the comparative method. Consider, however, the following example: English 'brother' and German Bruder, but English 'father' and German Vater. For those with an absolute faith in the regularity of sound correspondences one or the other must be abandoned. Given also the equivalence of English 'mother' and German Mutter, and English 'weather' and German Wetter, one must, in spite of all common sense, abandon the equation of English 'brother' with German Bruder. But in fact German here has, with a number of intermediate changes, maintained the consonantal distinction between German d in Bruder and t in Mutter and Vater, which goes back to Proto-Germanic. Ironically, this apparent irregularity was explained by the very Verner's law of 1876 that led the Neogrammarians to proclaim that sound laws (i.e. changes) have no exceptions. One must emphasize that it is sound laws, not sound correspondences, that were asserted to admit no exceptions. The difference between the d of Bruder and the t of Vater derives from an accentual difference in Proto-Indo-European that is reflected clearly in Sanskrit bhrátār 'brother' vs. pitár 'father.' Since this accentual difference no longer existed in the earliest Germanic, which had replaced the pitch accent with initial stress, nor in modern Indic languages, the explanation of this apparent irregularity would be unexplainable by contemporary evidence. With regard to the regularity of sound changes themselves, the empirical facts of sound change long ago showed that in numerous cases strict regularity is violated, both by other processes such as analogy and by lexical diffusion (Wang 1969).

Thus we see that there is no one-to-one relation between regular sound change and sound correspondences. A remarkable example is Chuvash, whose status as a Turkic language is not controversial. Genetically the Turkic family has two primary branches, Chuvash and non-Chuvash. However, virtually any vowel of Old Turkic may correspond to any vowel of Chuvash. There are also significant vari-

ations in the consonant correspondences, yet there is little difficulty in recognizing cognates.

If any family is well established—and its validity and membership known and obvious—it is Dravidian. Yet in the Introduction to the standard etymological dictionary of T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, they state that "there are very numerous instances in which the stated phonetic correspondences do not hold in the etymological groupings . . . and many groups include forms whose phonology is in part at least inexplicable on any basis now known" (Burrow and Emeneau 1984: xiv, xvi).

As a final example we may cite the two vast Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionaries of Orel and Stolbova (1995) and that of Ehret (1995). There are in these two works several thousand etymologies with all the usual apparatus of asterisks and reconstructed sound systems. Yet it is difficult to find a single etymology in one dictionary that is easily equatable with one in the other. All of this is based on a mistaken notion of "proof" appropriate in mathematics or logic, but out of place in a science of human behavior.

Citation of Indo-European Roots

Although in citing Indo-European forms I have followed Pokorny (1959), as explained in Volume 1, we are really dealing with a vowel harmonic system based on height, with three pairs: e/o, i/e, and u/o. The first pair is the common Indo-European e/o ablaut. This favorite Indo-European pair has been extended to i and u to produce the common diphthongal roots in ei and eu, which are really i and u roots. Examples of i roots include *dik (*deik in Pokorny) 'to point out, show,' which is the Indo-European representative of the almost worldwide root *tik 'finger' (see No. 150 below). An example of a u root is Pokorny's *bheug(h) 'to bend,' which is really *buk (see No. 39 below). Note that in contrast to the Indo-European system of vowel gradation as usually stated, zero grade *dik and *buk are here treated as primary forms that have been extended by secondary $e \sim o$ (< a), that is, they are strengthened as in the guna of the Indian grammarians. As noted initially, there are of course "unstrengthened" $e \sim o$ roots, such as Proto-Indo-European *bhel-(g-)- 'shine' (see No. 50 below).

In addition, it should be noted that the labiovelar series of Indo-European, usually written k^w , is really ku- after vowels and -uk after consonants. Thus Ainu yuk(-ram) 'liver' corresponds exactly to Indo-European * iek^w -r/n 'liver' and shows the earlier form of the root.

Some Eurasiatic Sound Correspondences

Though Proto-Indo-European is traditionally considered to have had three series of stops (voiceless, voiced, and voiced aspirates), most branches of Eurasiatic have only one. There is, however, an interesting sound correspondence between Gilyak and Indo-European that indicates that Eurasiatic must have had at least two series. As may be seen in Table 2, the Indo-European voiced aspirates usually correspond to voiceless aspirates in Gilyak, whereas the Indo-European voiceless stops correspond to voiceless unaspirated stops in Gilyak.

Cornelius Uhlenbeck (1942–45) suggested in his comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European that Indo-European r corresponded to Eskimo ε . Tables 3 and 4, however, indicate that Indo-European r usually corresponds to Eskimo l and that Eskimo ε derives instead from a velar stop. Examples of these two correspondences are given in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 2. A Gilyak-Indo-European Sound Correspondence

GILYAK	INDO-EUROPEAN
p'laju 'bright'	*bheleg- 'bright'
t'uʁr̆ 'fire'	*dhegwh- 'burn'
p'l-anq 'leaf'	*bhel-yo- 'leaf'
t'oli 'pierce'	*dhel-g- 'dig'
k'uř 'intestines'	*gherə- 'intestines'
t'u-f 'smoke'	*dheu-m 'smoke'
p'ry- 'take'	*bher- 'bear, carry'
pla-ju- 'burn'	*pel- 'burn'
pal 'mountain'	*pel- 'rock'
pil- 'be large'	*pelə- 'plenitude'
kirki-nt 'jump'	*(s)ker- 'jump'

Table 3. Eurasiatic R = Eskimo-Aleut L

EURASIATIC R	ESKIMO-ALEUT L
Proto-Altaic *guri 'deer'	Aleut aylax 'wild animal'
Proto-Indo-European *uer 'cover'	Proto-Eskimo *uliy(-) 'cover'
Proto-Finno-Ugric *tar3-l3 'crane'	Proto-Eskimo *tatəlyas 'crane'
Proto-Indo-European *gher- 'want'	Proto-Eskimo *əkli 'lust for'
Proto-Uralic *śars- become dry'	Proto-Eskimo *caluy- 'dried out'
Ainu sir 'weather, world'	Proto-Eskimo *cila 'weather'
Proto-Turkic *karyn 'belly'	Aleut $kilma\chi$ 'belly'
Finnish arka 'be afraid'	Proto-Eskimo *alikə- 'afraid of'
Saami čuruk 'fly (n.)'	Aleut čuliix 'moth'
Proto-Indo-European *gherə- 'guts'	Proto-Yupik *qilu 'guts'
Gilyak p'er 'become tired'	Proto-Eskimo *palu- 'lying down'
Proto-Indo-European *uer-g 'turn'	Aleut <i>uli-lix</i> 'bend' (v.)
Ainu ikiri 'seam'	Proto-Eskimo *kəluy 'seam'

Table 4. Eurasiatic $K/G = Eskimo-Aleut \ \kappa$

EURASIATIC K/G	ESKIMO-ALEUT B
Proto-Indo-European *gwen- 'woman'	Proto-Eskimo *aknak 'woman'
Proto-Uralic *maye 'land, earth'	Proto-Eskimo *makkak 'mud'
Proto-Indo-European *iĕkw-r 'liver'	Aleut $\bar{a}_{\mathcal{B}}$ i- χ 'liver'
Proto-Indo-European *men(e)gh 'many'	•
Gilyak <i>noy</i> 'be fragrant' Proto-Indo-European *ak ^w ā- 'water'	Proto-Eskimo *naʁə- 'smell' Proto-Eskimo *aʁi(t)- 'wet'

Additions and Corrections to Volume 1

In the discussion of first-person M (61–67) the Japanese form *mi* should be withdrawn. It is clearly a meaning derived from the primary meaning 'body,' as is evident also from the Kanji used to write it. It has cognates with this primary meaning in Korean and elsewhere.

Reduplication in the verb 'to give' occurs not only in Indo-European (e.g. Greek $did\bar{o}mi$ 'I give') and Yukaghir (tadi), as discussed in Volume 1 (236–37), but also in Samoyed, where Janhunen (1977) reconstructs *tətå alongside of *tə-. There has been intimate contact between Yukaghir and Samoyed and the Samoyed form is probably a borrowing from Yukaghir since it does not appear in reduplicated form in Finno-Ugric. What cannot be borrowings—and are highly significant—are such Chukotian forms as Palana Koryak tet-bk 'to give' (-bk is the infinitive suffix) and Aliutor tat-bk 'to bring, arrive.' I have also found in Angere's dictionary (which was based on Jochelson's texts) the Yukaghir (Kolyma) form mimai 'to comprehend, understand,' which immediately reminds one of such Indo-European reduplicated presents as Greek $mimn\acute{e}sk\bar{o}$ 'I remind,' Latin memini 'I remember,' and Hittite memmai 'says.'

Chapter 2

Lexical Evidence for Eurasiatic

The following 437 lexical etymologies are intended to complement the 72 grammatical etymologies given in Volume 1 and to show that the genetic evidence for the Eurasiatic family is both lexical and grammatical, as it is, of course, for any other language family. Some of these lexical etymologies were first suggested in the earlier Nostratic literature, though not necessarily in the precise form (or for the specific languages) given below. The lexical etymologies given here focus on those that involve languages and families that have generally been excluded from the Nostratic family, namely, Etruscan, Ainu, Gilyak, Chukotian, and Eskimo-Aleut. There are in addition many other Eurasiatic etymologies in the Nostratic literature that are perfectly valid, but no attempt has been made to cite them all.

For each of the constituent families one source is taken to be the default case for reconstructions and is not identified. Reconstructions from other sources are identified. The default sources are the following: Indo-European: Pokorny (1959); Uralic: Rédei (1986–88); Samoyed: Janhunen (1977); Altaic, Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus, Korean, Japanese: Starostin et al. (2002); Chukotian: Mudrak (1989a); Eskimo-Aleut: Mudrak (1989b), Eskimo: Fortescue et al. (1994). For Ainu, Batchelor's (1905) form is cited first (without citation, or in certain instances as B) and other forms, chiefly from Hattori (1964), follow. Indo-European reconstructions other than Pokorny

are identified by the initials of the author(s) as follows: Watkins 1985 (W), Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984 (GI), Mann 1984–87 (M), Mallory and Adams 1997 (MA). Transcriptions generally follow that of the source. One exception is that Starostin's Proto-Korean r has been changed to I since the latter is the symbol used by virtually all Koreanists (there is no phonemic distinction between I and I in Korean). In each etymology the meaning of a form is given only if it differs from the general meaning of the etymology. The following abbreviations are used: I n.= I noun, I noun, I representative, I intransitive, I masc.= I masculine, I feminine, dial.= dialectal.

Citation of earlier sources that have suggested at least some of the cognate forms listed here are given at the end of each etymology. Some of these sources also indicate that the root in question is found beyond the Eurasiatic family. The following abbreviations are used for the more frequently cited sources; a following number indicates either the number of the etymology, or the page number when the etymologies are not numbered: SM: Martin (1966), IS: Illich-Svitych (1967), N: Illich-Svitych (1971–84), BK: Bomhard and Kerns (1994), BR: Bengtson and Ruhlen (1994), MR: Ruhlen (1994a), MLC: Martin, Lee, and Chang (1967). The *Moshiogusa* is listed in the references as Kindaichi (1969). Items attributed to Glehn are taken from Grube 1892, and items attributed to Dybowski are found in Radlinski 1891–94.

1. ABOVE ka-m

OLD JAPANESE kami 'top, upper part,' Ryukyuan kami 'top.'

AINU ka 'the top of anything'; ka (dialects 1, 7, Hattori 239: 39), kaske (dialect 9), ka-ta (dialect 10). The form ka-ta contains the Eurasiatic locative -ta, a highly productive suffix in Ainu (see Volume 1: 155–57).

GILYAK k'e-m 'be upstream from,' k'e 'to lie a bit upstream,' k'e-qr 'territory upstream.' Cf. Old Turkic ka-m 'upstream on the Yenisei.'

Proto-Eskimo-Aleut *kaŋə- 'top, upper part,' Aleut kaŋ(a) 'top,' kaŋayu-\chi 'upper part of the body,' Proto-Eskimo *kaŋə\chi 'top,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kaŋəq 'top,' North Alaskan Inuit kaʁʁaq 'upriver end of an island,' Greenlandic kaŋiq 'highest

point, promontory.'

• There is a basic root ka meaning 'above, surface, cover' and there are various extensions of this root, of which only those with clearly locative meaning have been included under the present head. In addition COVER₅ kom, SKIN/BARK/COVERING kapa, and HEAD₂ kabel belong here. These suffixes to ka are just like the "root determinatives" so frequent in comparative dictionaries of Indo-European.

2. ACCOMPANY tur

?PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *trep- (W) 'to turn,' Greek trepein 'to turn,' Hittite tarup(p)- 'unite, collect.'

KOREAN tali- 'get accompanied by' (archaic, dialectal according to MLC 383), tali 'to accompany' (according to Ramstedt 1949), ttala/e 'comes with' (MLC 381).

OLD JAPANESE tura 'go together with,' modern Japanese ture 'companion,' ture-ru 'take with, be together.'

AINU tura 'together with, accompanying,' u-tura 'together'; turá 'with' (Hattori 320: 14).

GILYAK tar 'to curdle (of blood).'

• SM 1

3. ACQUIRE nek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *enek- \sim nek- \sim enk-, *nek- (W) 'reach, attain.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *nek- 'pull,' Enets nehíbo 'take,' Selkup näkäqo 'pull,' *nekkəl 'take, take out,' Selkup näqqilqo 'take.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal ənk- 'to catch.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *aŋu- 'catch (up), 'Sirenik aŋə- 'come across, catch.'

4. ALL₁ muta

PROTO-ALTAIC *mut'i 'to complete, finish,' Proto-Turkic *büt- 'to end, accomplish, be ended,' Old Turkic, Yakut büt- 'to end, be ended,' Turkish bit- 'be ended,' Tatar bit- 'be ended,' Chuvash pet- 'be ended.' Middle Mongolian möči '(be) just enough,'

Written Mongolian, Khalkha möčis 'just enough,' Kalmyk möčəg 'just enough.' Proto-Tungus *mudan 'end' (Benzing), Manchu mudan 'end,' Gold modan 'end,' Udihe muda 'end.'

MIDDLE KOREAN moto, modern Korean modu (MLC 629).

OLD JAPANESE muta 'together with.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi mitä 'completely.'

5. ALL₂ tuma

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *teu-m (root extension of *teu- 'to swell, grow fat'), Sanskrit tum-ra 'powerful,' Tocharian B tumane 'ten thousand,' Tocharian A tmam 'ten thousand,' Latin tumēre 'to swell,' Welsh tyf 'strength.'

PROTO-URALIC *tem3 'full, fill up, cram,' Cheremis teme 'become full,' Finnish tymeen 'stop the flow of blood,' Saami duolbma 'trample down,' Udmurt tim- 'dam up,' Ostyak tom 'trap, snare,' Hungarian töm ~ tem 'cram.'

Yukaghir čemei 'finish' (Jochelson 1926), Kolyma čumu 'all.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'amu 'put into, gather,' Turkic: Old Turkic tüm'completely,' Turkish tomary 'all,' Kazakh döm 'completely,'
Chuvash tum (xora) 'completely (black).' Middle Mongolian
temgu- 'gather, collect.' Proto-Tungus *tama- 'gather, collect,'
Manchu, Nanai tama- 'gather, collect.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tom 'all,' modern Korean tomi 'heap, pile, stack' (MLC 443).

OLD Japanese tumu 'heap, pack together,' modern Japanese tomu 'be rich in.'

AINU tumak 'be hunchbacked.'

GILYAK tam 'be many,' otom 'all,' als-taml-af 'place abounding in strawberries' (literally, 'strawberry-abounding-locative').

Chukotian: Chukchi $t \ni m \eta e$ 'any old,' Kamchadal $t \ni m(-la-\chi)$ 'thick, dense.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut tam-six 'to bind, wrap up,' tumtaq 'mound,' tami- 'tie in bundles,' tamadaq 'each, every (one),' Proto-Eskimo *tamaω 'all,' Naukan tamaҳaω- 'all, both, whole,' Central Alaskan Yupik tamaω- 'all, both, whole,' North Alaskan Inuit tamaq- 'all, both, whole,' Greenlandic tama(ω)- 'all, both, whole.'

• SM 102, MR 52

6. ANGRY kor

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kar- 'despise, punish,' Hittite kartimija- 'be angry.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kur3 'anger, be angry,' Mordvin kor 'anger, sorrow, annoyance,' Ostyak χur3m- 'get angry,' Vogul kor- 'quarrel (v.),' Hungarian harag 'anger.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kero 'fight, kill,' Turkic: Teleut kärä 'be angry,' Kirghiz ker- 'hate' (borrowed from Mongolian). Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian kere- 'fight,' Khalkha xerelde 'to quarrel.' Tungus: Evenki kərčəmə 'angry, obstinate' (Tsintsius I: 454).

KOREAN kol 'anger' (MLC 156).

OLD JAPANESE ikari 'anger, rage,' modern Japanese okoru 'become angry,' ikari 'anger,' ikaru 'become angry,' kirau 'hate.'

• N 172, Poppe, p. 79.

7. ANIMAL ana

Yukaghir aŋaŋ.

PROTO-ALTAIC *aŋu 'wild game,' Proto-Turkic *aŋ 'wild game,' Old Turkic aŋ 'wild game,' Tatar aŋ 'elk, deer.' Middle Mongolian oyuna 'male mountain antelope,' Written Mongolian oyunu 'antelope,' Khalkha ōno 'antelope,' Kalmyk ōn 'antelope.' Proto-Tungus *aŋa 'wild game, mountain ram,' Evenki aŋa 'wild game,' anaŋ 'mountain ram,' aŋa- 'to graze (of deer),' Negidal aŋa- 'to graze (of deer).'

GILYAK ŋa '(wild) animal'; Southeast Gilyak ŋa 'animal' (Hattori 1962).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut anκακί-lix 'live, be alive,' anκακίda-χ 'animals,' anκακίlina-s 'animals,' Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *uŋuŋsiq, Alutiiq uŋuŋsiq, Central Alaskan Yupik uŋuŋsiq 'land animal (especially bear).' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *uŋuma- 'be alive (animal),' Sirenik uŋəvə 'be alive,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik uŋuva 'be alive,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic uuma- 'be alive (animal).'

8. ANIMAL (WILD) gura

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ĝhuĕr-, *ghwer- (W), *ĝhwer- (GI) 'wild

animal,' Latin ferus 'wild,' fera 'wild animal,' Old Church Slavic zvěrĭ, Latvian zvē̞rs.

PROTO-ALTAIC *guri 'deer, roebuck,' Turkic: Turkish gürä 'wild, untamed' (borrowing from Mongolian). Middle Mongolian gore'e 'antelope, wild steppe animal,' Written Mongolian görügen 'antelope,' Khalkha görös 'antelope,' Dagur gurēs 'antelope,' Monguor korosə 'antelope.' Proto-Tungus *gurma- ~ *gurna- 'hare, squirrel, ermine,' Manchu gulmaxun 'hare,' Evenki gurnun 'squirrel,' Even gurnata 'ermine.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kolani 'elk' (MLC 38).

Chukotian: Chukchi qoreŋə ~ qaat 'reindeer,' Kerek qujaquj, Koryak yujnik 'wild animal,' Kamchadal qoz 'reindeer,' (y)wirnik 'animal.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut: Bering ayla χ 'wild animal,' Atka algaq, Proto-Eskimo *quyŋiq ~ *quzŋiq 'domesticated reindeer' is a borrowing from Chukotian (Fortescue et al. 1994: 322).

• IS 330, N 90, 93, BK 236. There are probably two different roots here, one 'antilope, reindeer,' the other 'wild animal.' Illich-Svitych (1967: 330) has *gojra 'wild animal,' but in his Nostratic dictionary (1971–84) he gives two roots: *gurHa '(male) antilope' and *gujrä 'wild animal.' I believe this is correct and is directly supported by the two Kamchadal forms.

9. $ARISE_1$ or

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *er- ~ *or- ~ *r- 'move (intr.), rise,' Hittite arāi 'raises him/herself,' Armenian y-ar-ne-m 'I lift myself, stand up,' Greek ornumi 'arrive, move,' ōr-to (middle) 'raised him/herself,' Latin orior 'I rise.'

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma arpai 'go up.'

Proto-Altaic *ōfi 'to rise, up,' Proto-Turkic *ōf ~ *ūf 'on top, high above, upper part,' *ōf (Räsänen 1969: 373), Old Turkic üzä ~ özä 'on top, above,' Turkish üzär 'upper part,' Chuvash vir (< *ōf) 'on top, above,' Yakut ūsä 'on top, above. Middle Mongolian ergu- 'lift, raise,' Written Mongolian ergü- ~ *örgü- 'raise,' Khalkha örgö 'raise,' Dagur ergue- 'raise,' Monguor urgu- 'raise.' Tungus: Even ar- 'awake,' Evenki aru 'awake' (Tsintsius I: 52).

MIDDLE KOREAN ola- 'to rise,' modern Korean oli-ta 'go up, climb' (MLC 1192).

OLD JAPANESE ura 'tree top, topmost branch,' modern Japanese ura 'top end.'

AINU uri 'cast up, throw up.'

• IS 355, N 116. There appear to be two roots, ol and or, both with the basic meaning 'go up, lift.' In some languages there is no l/r distinction (e.g. Korean, Japanese). In these cases the reflexes have arbitrarily been put under the -r root.

10. ARISE₂ ol

Proto-Uralic *älɔ- 'lift, raise, carry,' Ostyak äl 'carry,' äləm- 'lift, raise,' Vogul ālm 'lift, carry,' ?Hungarian emel- 'lift, raise,' Proto-Samoyed *olə 'summit, head,' Yurak jilā 'lift up, raise,' Selkup ila- 'lift up.' Cf. also Proto-Uralic *wilä 'surface, upper part,' Finnish ylä 'over, above,' Saami âllen 'high, from high up,' Udmurt vil 'surface.'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Chuvash ulăx 'go up.'

GILYAK ylvs 'roof,' West Sakhalin ylvř 'roof, penthouse,' Southeast Gilyak ylvř 'roof,' Amur ula-f 'elevated place, height,' ulv 'top part.'

Chukotian: Northern Kamchadal eel', Western Kamchadal aala (Krasheninikov).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ulə(-) 'high tide or flood,' Central Siberian Yupik uləvə- 'flood, overflow,' Alutiiq ula 'flood,' ulə- 'flood, overflow,' Central Alaskan Yupik ula 'high, tide,' North Alaskan Inuit ulit 'rise (water), flood,' Greenlandic uli 'high tide,' ulit 'be high tide.'

• BK 367

11. ARM₁ tam

AINU tem 'arm' (B, Hattori 11: 83, dialects 2 and 3). According to Majewicz and Majewicz (1983–85) the meaning is 'measure of arms stretched out.'

GILYAK: Amur tym-k, Sakhalin tam-k, Southeast Sakhalin tam-k. Chukotian: Kamchadal tum-x, South Kamchadal (Radliński) tam-

k 'thumb.'

- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ətəmay 'palm of hand,' Naukan ətumaq 'palm of hand,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik tumak 'palm of hand,' North Alaskan Inuit utummak 'palm of hand,' Greenlandic itumak 'palm of hand.'
- The final -k of Gilyak, Kamchadal, and Eskimo is the general Eurasiatic absolutive; see Volume 1: 123–29.

12. ARM₂ tuya

PROTO-URALIC *soja, Saami, Udmurt suj, Vogul $t \in j \ni t$, Yurak \acute{cu} . YuKAGHIR: Tundra $uje \eta$ 'wing.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut $cuyu-\chi$ (with $*t_2$), Proto-Eskimo $*tuy\vartheta$ 'shoulder,' Naukan $tuy\vartheta$ 'sleeve,' Alutiiq $tuy\vartheta k$ 'shoulder,' Central Alaskan Yupik $tuz\vartheta k$ 'shoulder,' North Alaskan Inuit tui 'shoulder,' Greenlandic tui 'shoulder.'

13. ARMPIT₁ ol $\sim el$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *el- ~ *olĕi- 'to bend,' *olinā 'elbow,' Latin ulna (< olina) 'elbow, joint, whole arm,' Armenian ol-n 'shoulder,' Welsh elin 'elbow,' Old High German elinbogo 'elbow' (involving this root and No. 225, JOINT bogu).

URALIC: Finnish olka, Hungarian váll 'shoulder.'

GILYAK ol 'armpit,' Southeast Gilyak el 'bend in river.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut unʁ-im sitx-a 'armpit,' Proto-Eskimo *unəʁ 'armpit,' Central Siberian Yupik unəq 'armpit, underarm,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik unəq, Seward Peninsula Inuit, Greenlandic uniq.

14. ARMPIT₂ kon

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kon3-ala, Saami kaññel, Finnish kain-alo, Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian kun-ul, Vogul kanəl, Hungarian hón-alj.

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic * $k\bar{o}n$ (Räsänen 1969: 280), Chuvash $x\ddot{u}n$ ~ $x\ddot{u}(m)$, Yakut xonn, Old Turkic qojin, Turkmen gojun. Middle Mongolian kon 'hollow, cavity,' Written Mongolian qonn 'hollow,' Khalkha xonxor 'hollow.' Tungus: Negidal oyonn, Manchu ogo, Evenki oyonn.

• IS 370, N 220, BR 6

15. AROUND pir

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *per 'round, about,' Latin per 'through,' Greek perí 'around (all sides), about, over,' Avestan pairi 'towards, around.'
- PROTO-URALIC *pire 'circles,' *pirs 'round, about,' Finnish püri 'circle, ring,' Saami birrå 'round,' Mordvin pira 'encircle, enclose, fence in.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'erkV 'to tie around, surround,' Middle Mongolian hirgi 'go around,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha ergi 'go around,' Monguor xergə- 'go around.' Proto-Tungus *perke- 'to bind, tie around,' Evenki herke- 'tie around,' Even herkə- 'tie around,' Negidal xejke- 'tie around.'
- GILYAK p'irk 'go in a circle,' pirpir-ent 'return, circle' (Glehn), p'irp'iru- 'turn something, make it circle,' pirpir- 'return, turn about, circle.' Gilyak has aspirated and non-aspirated variants of what is obviously the same root.
 - BK 66

16. ARROW₁ aye

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma eje 'bow,' Tundra aje 'arrow,' aji 'shoot.'

- PROTO-ALTAIC *ǯēja 'arrow, sharp point,' Proto-Turkic *jāj 'bow,' Old Turkic ja 'bow,' Turkmen jāj 'bow.' Proto-Tungus *ǯeje 'sharp point, blade,' Negidal, Nanai, Ulch, Evenki ǯeje 'sharp point.'
- OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ya 'arrow.' Cf. i-ru 'shoot an
- AINU aj (Hattori 122: 62, also 'thorn' in most dialects), Kuriles aje ~ ai 'arrow' (B).

17. ARROW₂ lonk

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *lenk- 'bow (n. & v.), to bend, to incline,' Lithuanian leñkti 'bends, tilts.'
- ?Proto-Uralic *loŋka (Collinder) 'arrow,' Vogul lah 'blunt pointed arrow.'

Yukaghir lokil 'arrow.'

ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus *lökū 'blunt pointed arrow' (Benzing), Manchu luku 'arrow,' Oroch luki 'wooden arrow.'

GILYAK luk 'arrow-head.' Probably a borrowing from Tungus.

• N 260, Dolgopolsky 26, Collinder (1955: 154). The limited distribution in different families suggests borrowing in addition to genetic affinity.

18. ARROW/POINT ok

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $ak \sim *ok$, *ak- (W), *akher- (GI) 'sharp, pointed, angular,' Latin $\bar{a}cer$ 'pointed, sharp,' Armenian aseln 'needle,' Old Church Slavic $ostr\check{u}$ 'sharp.' Cf. also *ku 'point, end.'

URALIC: Finnish oka 'thorn, spine, prickle,' Estonian ok(a) 'thorn, spine.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ak'o 'sharp point,' Proto-Turkic *ok 'arrow,' Old Turkic oq 'arrow,' Tatar uk 'arrow,' Azerbaijani οχ 'arrow,' Chuvash uyə 'arrow,' Yakut οχ 'arrow.' Mongolian: Old Mongolian oki 'point' (Poppe).

AINU ak 'shoot with arrow'; e'ak 'shoot' (dialects 1, 3–5), e-yak 'shoot' (8), $e'ak \sim e'ah$ 'shoot' (9). For e- as an object marker, see Volume 1: 85–87.

GILYAK yx 'end,' yx \sim yg 'knife point' (Glehn), Southeast Gilyak ku 'point.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Greenlandic agi(q) 'sharp point on reindeer antler,' South Labrador akli(q) 'part of hook or harpoon,' Yuit aklega(q) 'bird arrow, harpoon with float' (Jacobsen).

• Poppe 55, IS 353, N 113, BK 398

19. ASHES₁ kim

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *kimä, Tavgy sími 'coal,' Selkup šimi 'coal,' Kamassian šymy 'coal.'

Proto-Altaic *k'ume 'black, charcoal,' Proto-Turkic *Kömür 'charcoal,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen kömür 'charcoal,' Yakut kömör 'charcoal,' Chuvash komr-ok 'charcoal.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kəm- 'black.'

AINU komun 'litter, dust, dirt.'

GILYAK xim-s, ximis (Glehn, West Coast).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Kuskokwim kamtlerit, Yupik kamipluq \sim kangipluq 'charcoal' (Jacobsen).

20. ASHES₂ pana

Proto-Altaic *piońa 'red clay, dirt,' Proto-Turkic *bAńak 'dung,' Old Turkic bajnaq 'dung.' Tungus: Goldi pańakta.

?Japanese pani 'red clay.'

AINU pana 'dust'; pana 'dust' (dialects 3, 5, 6, Hattori 104: 40).

Р
кото-Сникотіан *piŋ-piŋ, Chukchi piŋ ~ pimpiŋ, Koryak piŋpiŋ, Kam
chadal pin.

21. ?BACK se

MIDDLE KOREAN ti- 'carry on the back.'

OLD JAPANESE se, modern Japanese se 'back,' se-bone 'backbone,' se-naka 'back.'

AINU see 'carry on the back'; se (Patrie, Hattori 129: 10, dialects 1–7), see (H 129, dialect 9) 'carry on back.'

• SM 6

22. BACKWARD ut

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $\bar{u}d$ -, *ud- (W), * ut^{h} - \sim *ut'- (GI) 'upwards, out,' Greek hys-ter-ós 'outermost,' Gothic ut 'out,' Old English $\bar{u}t$ 'out,' Lithuanian $u\bar{z}$ - 'for, toward,' Old Church Slavic $v\bar{u}z$ 'up to.'

Proto-Altaic *ūč'i 'end, edge,' Proto-Turkic *ūč 'end, edge,' Old Turkic, Turkish uč 'end,' Turkmen ūč 'end,' Chuvash vəs 'end.' Middle Mongolian uğu'ur 'end, edge,' Written Mongolian üğüyür 'end,' Khalkha ügür 'end,' Monguor uğūr 'end.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *utəʁ- 'return,' Greenlandic utiʁpuq 'returns,' uti-mut saay-puk 'turns back.'

23. BAD_1 aka

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese aka 'oily scum.'

AINU ok 'be low in spirit, troubled; trouble, evil.'

GILYAK yky(-d') 'be bad,' $akki(-n\check{c}) \sim ykki(-n\check{c})$ (Schrenck).

CHUKCHI-KAMCHATKAN: Chukchi äqä, Koryak aqa.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *iqa(s) 'dirt,' Central Siberian Yupik, Naukan iqa 'dirt,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik iqa(q) 'dirt.'

24. BAD₂ walu

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *wål3- 'bad, wicked, angry,' Tavgy boluaŋ, Enets báři.

PROTO-ALTAIC *bujre 'bad, wrong,' Middle Mongolian buru'u, Written Mongolian buruyu, Khalkha, Kalmyk, Monguor burū, Dagur borō.

OLD JAPANESE waru-si ~ waro 'evil, wrong, unlucky,' modern Japanese waru-i.

25. BALD tar

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'er´o, Proto-Turkic *dar´, Old Turkic, Tatar taz, Turkish, Azerbaijani daz. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Kalmyk tar.

KOREAN tai- ~ talk 'a bald head, cracks (on hands and feet from cold),' Middle Korean talk 'cracks,' modern Korean tä-məri 'a bald head.'

• Poppe 13, IS 347

26. BARK (n.) ker

Proto-Indo-European *(s)ker 'cut,' also 'skin, bark,' *kérmen-(MA) 'skin,' Armenian k'ert'em 'skin,' Old Prussian kērmens 'body,' Sanskrit cárman- 'skin.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kere, Finnish keri, Estonian kere 'inner bark,' Saami gârrâ 'shell, crust,' Mordvin ker 'linden bark,' Cheremis kər 'linden bark,' Udmurt kur 'a piece of bark,' Komi-Zyrian kor 'inner bark,' Ostyak ker 'snow crust,' Vogul kēr, Hungarian kérëg, Proto-Samoyed *kär 'skin, scales,' Selkup kor 'skin, scales'; Proto-Finno-Volgaic *kore 'skin,' Finnish kuori 'skin,' Estonian koor 'skin,' Mordvin kar 'shoe made of bark'; Proto-Uralic *kora 'skin, peel, flay,' Ostyak kŏr 'skin (v.),' Vogul kor 'remove (birch bark), peel,' Proto-Samoyed *kirå- 'skin (v.), flay,

- peel,' Selkup kirjqo 'skin, flay,' Kamassian khirl'im 'skin, flay'; Proto-Uralic *kurə 'knife,' Finnish (dial.) kuras 'knife,' Saami korr 'knife,' Proto-Samoyed *kərə 'knife,' Yurak (Forest) kar 'knife,' Yurak (Tundra) kuro 'knife,' Enets kōru 'knife,' Kamassian kōrlo 'plane,' Taigi kurru 'knife.'
- Yukaghir: Kolyma xar 'skin, hide,' Omok kire 'knife.' Cf. also kire 'flint weapon' and kar 'skin, hide.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *k'er'a, Proto-Turkic *Kar' 'bark, scales,' Old Turkic qaz, Tatar kajri, Chuvash xojar. Middle Mongolian kajir(a)- 'scales, hard bark,' Written Mongolian qajir(a)-su(n), Khalkha xajrs, Kalmyk xärsn. Proto-Tungus *xere-kte 'skin,' Nanai, Ulch, Orok xerekte, Evenki erekte, Negidal ejekte, Even ertə.
- OLD JAPANESE kara 'husk, shell,' modern Japanese kara 'husk, shell.'
- AINU kar (dialects 1-8, Hattori 137: 62), kar 'to peel it,' kara 'to peel it' (dialect 9).
- CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi kəlvejətək 'cut out,' Koryak kali- 'carve' (Bogoras 1917).
 - N 217, BK 247

27. BE₁ biu

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bhū- ~ *bheu-, *bheu- (W), *bhuH- (GI), *bheu(ə)- (MA) 'be, grow,' Sanskrit bhávati 'is, becomes,' Old Irish boːi 'it was,' Latin fīo 'become,' Old English bēo 'am,' Lithuanian būti 'be,' Old Church Slavic byti, Albanian buj 'lodge, stay.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *biju 'be,' Middle Mongolian bui, Written Mongolian büi, Khalkha bij, Kalmyk bī, Dagur bei, Monguor bi-/(w)ī-. Proto-Tungus *bi (Tsintsius I: 79), Negidal bī-, Manchu, Nanai, Ulch, Orok, Evenki, Even bi-.
- OLD JAPANESE wi 'be (motionless), sit,' modern Japanese iru (< wiru) 'be in a place, sit,' also (w)oru, Ryukyuan wu-ng 'dwell, remain.'
 - IS 333, N 19, Starostin 129, BK 9

28. BE_2 es

- Proto-Indo-European *es-, Hittite ēszi 'is,' Old Irish is 'is,' Old Prussian, Latin est 'is,' Gothic ist 'is,' Old Church Slavic jestŭ 'is,' Avestan asti 'is,' Sanskrit ās-ti 'is.'
- PROTO-URALIC *aśe- 'place (n.),' Finnish asu- 'dwell,' Estonian ase 'place,' Mordvin eżem 'place,' Yurak ŋīsī 'tent village.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN is 'exist' (Ramsey), modern Korean isi- (Ramstedt 1939: 71).
- AINU isu; as 'halt, stop' (Hattori 65: 114). Note that the contrast is- 'be' vs. as- 'halt, dwell' is also found in Indo-European *es \sim *is, Uralic *aśe- 'place, put,' Finnish asu- 'dwell.'
 - IS 333, N 132

29. BE₃ le

- Proto-Indo-European *lē(i) 'provide, obtain (middle voice), property,' *lē- (< *leə₁) (W) 'get,' Greek latreia 'service (for pay), duties.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *le- 'be, become, live,' Finnish lie- 'be allowed, want,' Estonian lee- 'become,' Saami le- 'be, become,' Cheremis lia- 'be, become, be possible,' Udmurt lu- 'be, become,' Komi-Zyrian lo- 'become, begin, be,' Hungarian lë- 'be, exist, become.'
- YUKAGHIR: Tundra l'e 'be,' Kolyma l'i 'have.'
- Chukotian: Koryak -li-n (third-person singular of predicative), Kamchadal le 'become,' li 'be' (Stebnitskij 1934: 100).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut li- 'appear, come in sight, become like something,' Proto-Eskimo *-li (postbase) 'become,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik li- 'become,' Greenlandic li- 'become, make become.'
 - IS 332, N 131

30. BEACH sai

PROTO-ALTAIC *sajV 'shallow, stony place,' Proto-Turkic *saj 'area covered with stones, shallow, stony river-bed,' Old Turkic, Turkmen saj 'area with stones,' Tatar saj-ik- 'be shallow.' Middle Mongolian sajir 'stony river-bed, pebbles,' Written Mongolian sajir 'pebbles,' Khalkha sajr 'pebbles,' Kalmyk sārə 'pebbles.'

Proto-Tungus *saj 'sandbank,' Nanai sija 'sand,' Ulch sija(n) 'sand,' Evenki sajaŋ 'bank, shore,' Negidal saj-čau 'sandy embankment.'

OLD Japanese, modern Japanese se 'shallow place.' Cf. also Old Japanese iso 'rocky beach, shallow sea,' modern Japanese iso 'beach, pebbles.'

AINU sa 'shores of the sea.'

GILYAK t'o 'shore.'

31. BEAR (n.) kuma

PROTO-ALTAIC *kiamu 'bear, beaver,' Proto-Turkic *Kama 'beaver, otter,' Tatar kama 'otter,' Chuvash xoma 'beaver, sable.' Proto-Tungus *kuma 'seal,' Evenki kuma 'seal,' Negidal komo 'seal,' Even quma 'seal,' Lamut kuma 'great seal,' kumaku 'stag, elk.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kōm (Ramstedt), modern Korean kom (MLC 161).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kuma.

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak umxa, Palana Koryak umka. Metathesis?

• Ramstedt 1949, SM 10

32. BEAUTIFUL ara

Proto-Indo-European *arə- 'fit, be suitable,' Hittite arra- 'wash,' Tocharian A yär- 'wash,' ?Greek aréskō 'please,' áristos 'best.'

Proto-Altaic *ero 'clean,' Proto-Turkic *aru '(be) clean,' Old Turkic aruy- 'clean,' Chagatai aryt- 'clean (tr.),' Turkmen aric 'clean,' Chuvash irə 'good,' Yakut irās 'clean.' Middle Mongolian arči- 'clean,' Written Mongolian ariyun 'clean,' Khalkha ariun 'clean,' Kalmyk ärūn 'clean,' Dagur arūn 'clean,' Monguor arən 'clean' (Poppe 1960: 79).

KOREAN aly-m-tap-ta 'is beautiful, pretty' (MLC 1071), aly 'be beautiful, admirable' (Ramstedt 1949).

OLD JAPANESE arap- 'to wash,' modern Japanese arau 'wash,' Ryu-kyuan ara-yung 'wash.'

AINU ara 'be pretty, beautiful'; ara 'decorated, ornamented' (dialect 1, Hattori 139: 76).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal alwtala 'be fond of' (Worth).

33. BECOME na

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean na- 'be born.'

OLD JAPANESE nar-'become, be born,' nas-'bear, create,' Ryukyuan na-yaŋ 'become.'

AINU ne 'become.'

GILYAK ny 'make, do.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi näl- 'become,' Koryak nal- 'become.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut tayaða- 'be new, fresh, young,' Proto-Eskimo *nayu- 'grow,' Sirenik, Central Siberian Yupik nayu- 'grow,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik nau- 'grow,' West Canadian Inuit nau- 'start growing up (seed), be conceived,' Greenlandic naa- 'grow, spring out (plant).'

• SM 11

34. BEE/FLY per \sim pal

PROTO-URALIC * $p\ddot{v}ls$ 'horsefly,' Ostyak $pel \ni m$ 'horsefly,' Vogul $pal \ni m$ 'horsefly,' Yurak $pil'\bar{u}$ 'horsefly,' Cheremis $p\ni j\ni lm\vartheta$ 'wasp.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'joli 'fly,' Written Mongolian ilayan 'fly,' Dagur xilā 'fly.' Proto-Tungus *pulmi-kte 'midge,' Orok pulikte 'midge,' Nanai purmikte 'midge,' Evenki hunmīkte 'midge.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *p'ēra, Proto-Turkic *āri 'bee, wasp,' Old Turkic, Turkmen ari, Chuvash orə. Middle Mongolian xerbegai 'butterfly,' Written Mongolian erbekei 'butterfly,' Khalkha ervēxij 'butterfly. Proto-Tungus *perē- 'bumble-bee,' Evenki herēptin 'bumble-bee.'

MIDDLE KOREAN phal 'fly,' modern Korean phāli 'fly.' Cf. also Middle Korean pəli, modern Korean pəl (MLC 764).

OLD JAPANESE pati 'bee,' modern Japanese hachi 'bee.'

• SM 12. Cf. No. 164, FLY par.

35. BEFORE hant

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ant-s 'frontside, forehead,' *ant(-i) 'in the sight of, against' (the form *ant-i is a locative and the initial *a- indicates the second laryngeal, H₂ent-), Lycian xñtwanta 'leader,' Hittite hanti 'facing, opposite,' hant- 'forehead, front,' Tocharian Bānte 'brow,' Latin ante 'in front of,' Lithuanian ant 'on, upon, at,' Armenian ənd 'for.'

ETRUSCAN $han\theta in$ 'in front of.'

- PROTO-ALTAIC *antV (IS 354) 'front,' Tungus: Manchu antu 'southern side, foreside,' Evenki antaya 'southern side, foreside,' Udihe anta 'southern side, foreside.'
- ?KOREAN anthä 'fore, before, in front of' (< *anthai, with metathesis of aspiration) (Ramstedt 1949).

36. BEHIND $tak \sim tek$

- PROTO-URALIC *taka 'rear,' Finnish taka- 'back,' Estonian taga 'space behind,' Saami duokken 'behind, beyond,' Yurak $t'a\chi\bar{a}$? 'to that place, over there,' Enets tehone 'behind,' Tavgy taka 'situated behind,' Selkup tak 'situated behind.'
- Proto-Altaic *daga 'near, to follow,' Proto-Turkic *jagu-k 'near,' Old Turkic jayuq 'near,' Chuvash śivax 'near,' Yakut čugas 'near.' Middle Mongolian da'ari 'pass,' Written Mongolian dayari- 'pass,' Khalkha dajra 'pass,' Dagur dāri- 'pass.' Proto-Tungus *daga 'near, quickly, soon,' Solon daga 'near,' Negidal daya 'near,' Evenki daga 'near,' Manchu da-rtaj 'soon' (Tsintsius I: 187). Cf. also Proto-Altaic *dak'i 'follow, near,' Proto-Turkic *jak-in 'near,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Tatar jaqin 'near,' Azerbaijani jaxin 'near.' Middle Mongolian daka- ~ daga- 'follow,' Written Mongolian daxa ~ daqa 'follow,' Khalkha, Dagur daga- 'follow,' Kalmyk daxə- 'follow,' Monguor dacā- 'follow.' Proto-Tungus *daka- 'follow, obey,' Negidal daxaw- 'follow,' Manchu, Nanai daxa- 'follow,' Ulch daxau 'follow,' Orok daxuri 'follow.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN ta(h)- 'following,' modern Korean $t\bar{a}h$ 'reaches, touches' (MLC 418).
- OLD Japanese yagate 'next,' modern Japanese yagate 'next, following, soon after.' Cf. also Old Japanese tika- 'near,' modern Japanese chikai 'near.'
- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN * θku 'to end,' Southern Kamchadal duuk 'near' (Radliński).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut tiy- 'land (in a boat),' Proto-Eskimo *təkit- 'arrive,' Sirenik təkət- 'knock against, appear, show up,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik təkitə- 'arrive,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic tikit- 'arrive at.'
 - SM 5, IS 331, N 61

37. BELLY man

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed * $m\mathring{a}$ - \sim * $m\mathring{a}\eta k \not a t$ 'breast, bosom,' Yurak (Tundra) ma 'breast,' Yurak (Forest) $m\bar{a}\eta k$ 'breast,' Selkup $mung\acute{a}t$ 'breast.'

YUKAGHIR: Tundra monil 'belly, abdomen of an animal.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *miońu 'heart, breast,' Proto-Tungus *miańam 'heart,' Negidal, Evenki mewan 'heart,' Ulch, Orok mēwa(n) 'heart,' Manchu ńaman 'heart.'

MIDDLE KOREAN mańam 'heart,' modern Korean maɨm 'heart.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese muna ~ mune 'chest.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *manu 'front side,' Kuskokwim manu 'lap, bosom.'

38. BELT yeu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *jugom, *yug-o- (W) 'yoke,' Old Welsh iou 'yoke,' Latin iugum 'yoke.' This form derives from the verb *jeu- ~ *jeug- ~ *jeug-, *yeug- ~ *yug- (W) 'connect, join, harness,' Sanskrit yáu-ti 'connects, harnesses,' but Mallory and Adams (1997: 655) consider it to have already existed in PIE since it is found in all branches except Albanian and Tocharian.

PROTO-URALIC *jäje, Udmurt je 'broad belt,' Komi-Zyrian ji, Yurak ńī, Enets niojo, Tavgy nieja, Selkup tjyy, Kamassian źī.

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma juo.

• IS 356, N 143, BK 472

39. BEND (v.) buk

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bheug(h)-, *bheug- (W) 'to bend,' Sanskrit bhugná 'bent,' Gothic biugan 'to bend,' Old Icelandic bogenn 'bent,' English bow, elbow, Proto-Celtic *buggo 'flexible, malleable,' Irish bog 'soft,' Albanian butë (< *bhug(h)-to) 'soft,' Latvian baūgurs 'hill, rising ground.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *bok'e 'to bend, bow,' Proto-Turkic *bük- 'to bend,' Chuvash pük-, Yakut bük- 'inclined,' Khakas bükri 'bent,' Old Turkic bük ~ bök 'to twist,' Uighur bük ~ bök 'to kneel.' Middle Mongolian bokotur, Written Mongolian böke, Khalkha böx(ön), Kalmyk bökn 'hump, humped,' Dagur bug, Monguor bukī- ~ pugī- 'to incline.' Proto-Tungus *buk-, Manchu buqtu, Nanai

buku 'hump,' Evenki buke- 'to bow,' buku 'bent, crooked,' bäkä 'hump,' Orok boqqo.

AINU he-poki-ki 'bow down,' he-poki-poki 'to nod the head.'

GILYAK pix 'knee,' Southeast Gilyak pixti 'knee.'

• IS 336, N 25, BR 2

40. BIND ep

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ep- \sim *p-, *eph- (GI) 'take hold of, take,' Hittite ep-mi 'I take, attain,' appala- 'snare,' Latin co-ep-ula 'connection.'

MIDDLE KOREAN aol- 'join,' modern Korean (dial.) ëpuli- 'join.'

OLD JAPANESE ap-'join,' modern Japanese a-u 'join (intr.),' awase-ru 'they join (something together).'

AINU perai-ap \sim ap 'fishhook'; epa 'arrive, reach' (Hattori 65: 13). GILYAK ep- 'to hold.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi əpə 'in connection with,' əpə-valən 'connects with, adjoins,' əp- 'be connected to.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut: Atka *iimisix* 'shoe-string,' Eastern Aleut *imiisix* 'shoe-string,' Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **ipiq(-)* 'tie (n. & v.),' North Alaskan Inuit *ipiq(-)* 'dog chain, rope, tie with a rope,' Western Canadian Inuit *ipiq-* 'tie up,' Eastern Canadian Inuit *ipiq-* 'tie up (a dog), chain for tying up a dog.'

• SM 120, IS 371

41. BIRD cayu

MIDDLE KOREAN say, modern Korean sāy.

JAPANESE -su (suffix on bird names), kara-su 'crow' (literally, 'black-bird'), kiji-su 'pheasant.' Cf. also sagi 'heron.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut $sa-\chi$ 'bird, duck,' Eskimo: Central Alaskan Yupik ciyuq 'small thrush-like bird.'

• SM 14

42. BITTER ninka

PROTO-ALTAIC *nik'e 'become sour, ripen,' Middle Mongolian negsi-'become sour (of food), to rot,' Written Mongolian nigsi- 'become sour,' Khalkha negše- 'become sour.' Proto-Tungus *ńek- 'become sour (of food), to rot,' Manchu ńekde- 'become sour.'

MIDDLE KOREAN nik- 'to ripen,' be boiled,' modern Korean ik- 'to ripen.'

OLD JAPANESE niga- (< *ninka-) 'bitter, sour,' modern Japanese niga-.

AINU nikax 'turn sour' (Patrie), ninge 'gall,' ninke 'bile' (Moshiogusa).

43. BLACK₁ pi

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *pi 'night,' Selkup pi 'night,' Kamassian phi 'night,' Enets pi ~ fi 'night,' Tavgy hi 'night'; Proto-Samoyed *pim- 'become dark,' Selkup pimba 'become dark.'

YUKAGHIR: Chuvan opoi 'be black.'

GILYAK: Amur piu- 'be black.'

44. BLACK₂ kura

Proto-Indo-European *kers- \sim *kers- (often with an i or u extension) 'dark, dirty, gray,' Old Prussian kirsnan, Old Church Slavic $\check{c}r\check{u}n\check{u}$, Sanskrit kr $\check{s}n\acute{a}$ -.

Proto-Altaic *k'aru ~ *karu, Proto-Turkic *Kara, Old Turkic qara, Turkish, Tatar kara, Azerbaijani, Turkmen cara, Chuvash xora, Yakut xara. Middle Mongolian qara, Khalkha xar, Dagur, Monguor xara. Cf. also Proto-Altaic *k'jufu 'red, reddish, brown, dark,' Proto-Turkic *Kif-il 'red,' Old Turkic qizil 'red,' Turkish, Tatar kizil 'red, Azerbaijani, Turkmen cizil 'red,' Chuvash xerle, Yakut kihil 'red.' Middle Mongolian küre- '(dark) brown,' Written Mongolian küreŋ 'brown,' Monguor kurē 'brown,' Khalkha xüren 'brown.' Proto-Tungus *xuri- 'grey,' Evenki urim 'grey.' Cf. also Manchu kuri 'dark brown,' Evenki kurin 'brown,' Nanai kuri 'gray' (Tsintsius I: 437).

KOREAN kɨlɨnca 'shadow.' Cf. also Middle Korean, modern Korean kuri 'copper.'

OLD JAPANESE kuro-, modern Japanese kuroi. Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese kura- 'dark.'

AINU ukuran 'last night'; kur \sim kuri (dialects 1–5), kur \sim kurihi (dialect 6), kur (dialects 7–8), kurihi \sim kuruhu (dialect 9, Hattori 224: 19) 'shadow.'

GILYAK yyr- 'be black.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qiʁnəʁ- 'be black or dark,' Seward Peninsula Inuit qiʁniq- 'be dark colored, black,' North Alaskan Inuit qiʁnyɨq- 'be black, dark,' Greenlandic qiʁniʁ- 'be black.'

• N 213, MR 18, BK 274

45. BLOOD kem

?URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *kem, Motor kem, Tavgy kam, Selkup kem.

?YUKAGHIR čeme (Angere).

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jāno, Proto-Turkic *Kiān, Old Turkic qan, Turkish, Tatar kan, Azerbaijani gan, Turkmen gān, Yakut qān, Chuvash jon. Proto-Tungus *xuŋī-kta 'blood vessel,' Evenki uŋīkta 'blood vessel,' Nanai xoŋgiqta 'blood vessel.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut kanuux 'heart,' Proto-Eskimo *kanuy-, Central Siberian Yupik kanuk 'spot of blood,' North Alaskan Inuit kanuk- 'become angry,' West Canadian Inuit, East Canadian Inuit kanuk, Greenlandic kanik.

46. BLOW (v.) pus

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *p(h)u-s-, Latin pustula 'bubble, blister,' Greek $ph\bar{u}sa$ 'wind, blast,' Sanskrit pusyati 'flourishes, prospers.'

PROTO-URALIC *puš3-, Finnish (dial.), Estonian puhu-, Vogul put-'spray, splash,' Selkup puttu 'saliva.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'učV, Proto-Tungus *pus-, Evenki hus- 'blow, blow out a fire,' Manchu fusxe 'blow out a fire,' Even hus 'sprinkle.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pučcəi 'fan,' modern Korean puč'i- 'uses a fan, fans' (MLC 821).

OLD JAPANESE pusub-u 'make smoke,' modern Japanese fusube-ru 'emit, make smoke.'

AINU puse 'blow out of the mouth.'

• MR 46

47. BONE pon

?Indo-European: Proto-Germanic *baina-, Old English $b\bar{a}n$.

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ejńe, Proto-Turkic *(j)īn-čik 'shin, shank, thin bone,' Turkish inžik 'shin,' Turkmen īnžik 'shin.' Proto-Tungus *peń-ŋen 'knee,' Orok pene(n) 'knee,' Ulch peńe 'knee,' Evenki xenŋen 'knee,' Nanai feiŋge(n) 'knee.'

MIDDLE KOREAN s-pj ϑ , modern Korean $\bar{p}j\vartheta$.

OLD JAPANESE pone, modern Japanese hone, Ryukyuan hun.

AINU pone \sim poni; pone (dialects 1–8), poni (dialect 9) (Hattori 20: 167).

• SM 21

48. BRAIN ayu

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *ajŋe 'brain,' Estonian aju, Mordvin uj, Saami vuoiŋâš, Hungarian agy.

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *7aywa-7aywa, Chukchi ajo \sim ajva, Koryak avja, Kamchadal ajwa \sim ajiwa \sim 7ajuv7aj (Worth).

49. BREATHE ana

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *an(ə)-, *anə- (W), *anH- (GI), Gothic uz-anan 'breathe one's last,' Sanskrit ániti, Tocharian B anāsk- 'breathe, inhale,' Latin anima 'soul, spirit, breath.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ans(i)- 'breathe, sigh, blow (of a whale),'
Proto-Eskimo *anss- 'breathe (out),' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan
Yupik anssnsq 'breath, spirit,' North Alaskan Inuit anisniq
'breath,' Greenlandic anisniq 'breath, spirit.' Cf. also ProtoEskimo *anuqs 'wind,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik anuqa
'wind,' North Alaskan Inuit anusi 'wind,' Greenlandic anusi
'wind.'

• IS 340, N 125, BK 369

50. BRIGHT belk

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bheleg- ~ *bhelg- ~ *bhleg- 'shine,' an extension of *bhel- 'shine,' Greek phlegō 'burn, ignite,' Latin flagrāre 'to flame, burn,' Tocharian A, B pälk- 'shine.'

?URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *walk3 'white, bright, shining, to shine,' Finnish valkea 'shining, bright, white,' Estonian valge 'bright, white,' Saami vil'gis 'light, white,' Mordvin valda 'light,' Cheremis

walyəδə 'clear, light,' Hungarian világ 'light.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *balgy (Illich-Svitych) 'bright,' Proto-Tungus *beli 'pale, to whiten,' Negidal belki 'whiten,' Evenki beli 'pale,' Oroch beli 'white' (Tsintsius I: 133–34).

MIDDLE KOREAN polk-, modern Korean palk- 'is light, bright, clear.' OLD JAPANESE par-u 'clear up (sky, weather),' modern Japanese hare 'weather clears up.' Cf. also modern Japanese aka-ru-.

GILYAK p'la-ju 'be brilliant' (-ju is a diminutive suffix).

• SM 26, 27, IS 331, N 5, BK 15, 494

51. BROTHER (OLDER) aka

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma a'ka 'older brother,' xa'xa 'mother's brother,' Tundra acka 'older brother,' xa'icie 'mother's brother.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *āk'V, Proto-Turkic *āka 'older brother, uncle,' Old Turkic aqa, Turkish, Yakut aya, Tatar aga, Turkmen āga. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian aqa, Khalkha ax, Kalmyk axə, Dagur akā, Monguor aga. Proto-Tungus *(k)akā, Manchu xaxa, Evenki akā, Even aqa, Ulch, Orok aga, Negidal aga ~ axa 'older brother, uncle,' Oroch aka 'older brother, grandfather' (Tsintsius I: 23).

Japanese: Ryukyuan aka.

AINU $ak \sim aki$ 'younger brother.'

GILYAK ikin, Southeast Sakhalin akan, East Sakhalin aka(n)d.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *akkak 'paternal uncle,' Seward Peninsula Inuit akkak 'paternal uncle,' North Alaskan Inuit akkaka 'paternal uncle,' West Canadian Inuit, Greenlandic akka(k) 'paternal uncle.'

• MR 1. Cf. SISTER (OLDER) eke. See Volume 1: 51–52 for a discussion of the vowel contrast a 'strong, masculine' vs. e 'weak, feminine.'

52. BURDEN ni

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*ni \sim *nei$ 'under, down, downwards,' Old Irish ne 'down,' Old High German nidar (< *ni-ter-) 'under,' Old Church Slavic $niz\check{u}$ 'down,' Armenian ni- 'down, back, into.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *iune 'burden, load,' Proto-Tungus *(x)ünī- 'carry on the back,' Manchu unu- 'carry on the back,' Evenki inī- 'carry

on the back,' Even inu 'carry on the back,' Negidal inīw- 'to load, to pack.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ni 'carry on the head,' modern Korean i 'carry on the head' (MLC 1321), i-ta 'carries, (puts) on head.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ni 'burden, load.' Cf. Old Japanese ninap- 'carry a burden.'

AINU na 'carry.'

GILYAK ne- 'lift on shoulders, put on a hat.'

• SM 33

53. BURN₁ as

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *as- 'burn, glow,' *as- (W) 'burn, glow,' *h₂es- 'become dry,' Hittite hāssan 'hearth,' hās 'ash,' Latin āra 'hearth,' Oscan aasaí 'in the hearth,' Old Norse arinn 'hearth,' aska 'ash,' Tocharian A, Bās- (< *h₂es) 'become dry.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ase- 'catch fire, hot,' Proto-Turkic *as 'to cook,' Old Turkic isig 'hot,' Turkish siǯak 'hot,' isik 'hot.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha asa- 'catch fire,' Kalmyk as- 'catch fire.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal az(-lax) 'bright.'

• IS 352, N 127, BK 381

54. BURN₂ taku

Proto-Indo-European *dheg*h-, *dhegho- (GI), Old Irish daig (< *degi-) 'flame,' Lithuanian degù, Old Church Slavic žego, Albanian djeg.

Proto-Altaic *t'oge 'fire,' Proto-Turkic *Tögen 'brand, tinder,' Old Turkic tögen 'brand,' Yakut tüön 'tinder.' Middle Mongolian tüyi- 'big fire, bonfire,' Written Mongolian tüimür 'fire,' Khalkha tüjmer 'fire,' Kalmyk tü 'fire,' Dagur tuimer 'fire.' Proto-Tungus *toga 'fire,' Evenki, Negidal toyo 'fire,' Manchu tuwa 'fire,' Ulch, Orok tawa 'fire,' Nanai tao. Cf. also Proto-Altaic *deka, Proto-Turkic *jak 'burn (tr.),' Old Turkic, Turkmen jaq-, Turkish jak-, Tatar jag-, Azerbaijani jax, Yakut saq-. Proto-Tungus *deg-že-gi, Orok degde-, Evenki, Negidal žegdī, Even žegde 'burned place,' Manchu dejži-.

MIDDLE KOREAN tho-'burn (intr.),' modern Korean thäu-.

- OLD JAPANESE yak- (< *dak-) 'burn (tr.),' modern Japanese yaku. Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese tak 'burn, put on fire,' GILYAK: Amur t'usr 'fire,' Sakhalin t'usr 'fire.'
- \bullet SM 35, MR 51. According to Miller (1971: 90), Japanese taku and yaku are doublets. Note also the doublets in Indo-European and Turkic.

55. BURN₃ pe

?Proto-Indo-European *bhā- ~ *bhə- 'shine, appear,' *bhā- (W) 'shine,' *bheh² (MA) 'shine,' Old Irish bān 'white,' Avestan bā- 'shine,' bānu- 'light, ray of light.'

KOREAN p^hi 'burn, is kindled' (MLC 1771).

AINU ape (dialects 1-8), apoi 'fire' (dialect 9, Hattori 105: 51).

• BK 20

56. BUY $kur \sim kar$

?Proto-Indo-European *kwrei-, *khwer- ~ *khwr-ei- (GI) 'buy, pay,' Sanskrit krīṇāti 'he/she buys,' Tocharian B käry-, Old Irish crenaid 'buys,' Old Prussian krĭnuti, Old Russian krĭnuti.

PROTO-ALTAIC *kalo 'to change, borrow,' Proto-Turkic *Kalim 'ransom, fee,' Old Turkic qalan 'fee,' Tatar qalim 'ransom,' Chuvash xoləm 'ransom,' Yakut xalim 'ransom.' Middle Mongolian kala- 'change, alternate,' Written Mongolian qala- 'change,' Khalkha xala- 'change,' Kalmyk xalə- 'change,' Dagur kāla- ~ xala- 'change, make better.' Proto-Tungus *kalma-gda 'rich bride,' Negidal kalmagda 'rich bride,' Ulch qalmağa 'rich bride.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kal- 'change.'

OLD Japanese kar- 'borrow,' modern Japanese kariru 'borrow, rent, lease,' kari 'debt,' Ryukyuan kaj(-ung) 'borrow.' Cf. also Old Japanese kas- (< *kar-s-) 'lend.'

AINU e-kari 'be given, get, receive' (dialects 4, 5), en-kore 'I give' (dialect 8, Hattori 80: 7), koro (dialect 9, Hattori 83: 22).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi kur, Koryak kuj 'take.'

57. CARRY₁ wek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *uegh, *wegh- (W), *wegh- (GI) 'carry,

take, bring,' Sanskrit váhati 'carries, rides,' Latin vehō 'I bear, carry, convey,' Old Norse vega 'move, bring,' English wagon, Lithuanian vežù 'drive,' Old Church Slavic vezo 'drive.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *wiye, Finnish vie-, Estonian vii- 'bring,' Saami vikke-, Mordvin vije- 'bring,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian vaj- 'bring,' Ostyak wĕj-, Vogul wiy-, Hungarian viv-.

YUKAGHIR: Tundra wogie 'carry, drag.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *uku 'to take, grasp,' Proto-Tungus *oka- 'armful, handful,' Negidal oxodo 'armful,' Manchu $oxol\bar{o}$ 'handful,' Nanai oxoj 'handful.'

MIDDLE KOREAN uhii- 'to take, grasp.'

OLD JAPANESE uk- 'get, receive,' modern Japanese uke(-ru) 'receive.'

AINU uk 'take, acquire, accept'; uk 'take in hand, pick up, gather' (Hattori 128: 4, 5).

• BK 301

58. CARRY₂ op

PROTO-ALTAIC *ebe 'carry on the back,' Middle Mongolian u'ur 'carry on the back,' Written Mongolian eyüre- 'carry on the back,' Khalkha üre 'carry on the back.' Proto-Tungus *ebe- 'carry (on oneself),' Evenki ewe-, Nanai iwari 'unload.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean ∂p - 'carry on back' (MLC 1149–50).

OLD JAPANESE op- 'carry on the back,' modern Japanese o-.

AINU ampa (dialect 2, Hattori 129: 11), Sakhalin ampa 'bring, carry' (Dobrotvorskij).

59. CHEW₁ kem

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kem- ~ *kom- ~ * $km\bar{a}$ -, *kem- (W) 'biting, hum,' Middle English hummen 'hum,' Old Prussian camus 'bumble-bee,' Russian cmelĭ 'bumble-bee.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kema 'bite, gnaw,' Proto-Turkic *gEmür- 'gnaw,' Old Turkic kemür- 'gnaw,' Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen gemir 'gnaw,' Tatar kimer- 'gnaw.' Middle Mongolian kemi- 'gnaw,' Written Mongolian kemeli- 'gnaw,' Khalkha ximle- 'gnaw,' Dagur keme- 'gnaw.' Proto-Tungus *kem-ki- 'to bite (of a dog, goose),'

Manchu kemki- 'bite.'

MIDDLE KOREAN mëkum- 'hold in mouth,' modern Korean mëkim- 'hold in mouth.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kam- 'bite, chew.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi qametvərkən 'eats' (Bogoras 1922).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *iqmiy- 'put or keep in one's mouth,' Kuskokwim iqmiakaa 'holds in the mouth, chews.' However, cf. Proto-Eskimo *iqə(\varepsilon) 'corner of mouth' and Proto-Eskimo *-miy- 'hold in one's (body part).'

• SM 272. Cf. CHEW₂.

60. CHEW₂ kep

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ĝebh-, *gep(h)- (W), Lithuanian žėbiù 'chew, eat slowly,' Russian zobátĭ 'eat,' Old English ceafl 'jaw, jowl.' According to Pokorny, this root "possibly belongs with *ĝembh- 'to bite,'" which might be a link to CHEW₁.

PROTO-URALIC *kupsa 'eat or drink someone's share,' Saami kåpsē-'eat, drink,' Yurak kat'o 'to be left without (something).'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kēpu, Proto-Turkic *gēb-, Old Turkic kev-, Turkish gevele-, Azerbaijani gävälä-, Turkmen gävü-še-me-, Chuvash kavle, Yakut kebī-. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian kebi-, Kalmyk kew-, Monguor kēji-. Proto-Tungus *keb- 'gnaw, bite (with front teeth),' Even kēwri-, Evenki kewde- 'pierce through,' Manchu kejfule 'pierce through,' kejfu 'a big arrow.'

OLD JAPANESE kup- 'eat,' modern Japanese ku- 'eat.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *kwəp-nə 'tooth,' South Kamchadal kepkep (plural kipud) 'tooth' (Radliński).

• IS 346, N 190, BK 288

61. CHILD₁ po

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *pojka 'son, boy,' Finnish poika 'son, boy,' Estonian poeg 'son, youth,' Cheremis pür (in compounds) 'male, boy,' Udmurt pi 'child, son,' Komi-Zyrian pi 'son, boy,' Ostyak păy 'son, boy,' Vogul püw 'son, boy,' Hungarian fiu 'son, boy, child.'

PROTO-ALTAIC * $p\bar{o}ju$ 'child, young (of animals),' Proto-Turkic * $b\bar{o}j$ tak, Chuvash putek 'young lamb.' Proto-Tungus *puj(u)- ~

*puj-kte 'small, child,' Negidal xute, Manchu faŋgu 'junior,' Ulch, Nanai pikte, Orok putte, Even hut, Evenki hujukūn 'small.' AINU po 'child, diminutive.'

Сникотіам: Kamchadal p'e-č (plural p'e-?n) 'son.'

• IS 360, MR 43

62. CHILD₂ pan

URALIC: Samoyed: Kamassian p'and' 'hatch.'

GILYAK pan ~ pań 'be born,' vandu- 'raise, educate a child,' pand-f 'place of birth.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *pani(-y) 'daughter,' Sirenik panix 'daughter,' Alutiiq panik 'daughter,' Greenlandic panik 'daughter.'

63. CHILD₃ mer

Proto-Indo-European *merjo, *mari- (W) 'young man,' Lithuanian mer-i 'young lady,' mer-gà 'girl,' Latin maritus 'husband,' Avestan mairya- 'young man,' Sanskrit márya- 'young man.'

PROTO-URALIC (Illich-Svitych) *marjV 'youth,' Kamassian maje. AINU: Sakhalin mere-kopo 'child' (Hattori 35: 9).

Uhlenbeck 1942–45: 139, IS 373, N 277, BK 522

64. CHILD₄ og

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ōg- ~ *og- 'grow; fruit, berries,' Lithuanian úoga 'berry,' Old Church Slavic (j)agoda 'fruit, berry,' Gothic akran 'fruit,' Tocharian A oko 'fruit.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *uga 'child, son,' Proto-Turkic *ogul 'son,' Old Turkic, Turkmen oyul 'son,' Turkish oyul 'boy,' Altai oyo 'child.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ahai 'child.'

OLD JAPANESE ako 'child.'

GILYAK *oyla*, West Sakhalin *eylŋ* 'child, son' (borrowing from Turkic?).

65. CLAW topa

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *topå 'claw, hoof,' Yurak (Tundra) toba, Selkup topį 'foot.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'jup'o 'nail, hoof,' Proto-Turkic *tubńa-k 'hoof,' Old Turkic tujay 'hoof,' Turkish dujnak 'hoof,' Tatar tojaq 'hoof,' Turkmen tojnaq 'hoof.' Middle Mongolian tar 'hoof,' Written Mongolian turuyu 'hoof,' Khalkha tūr 'hoof,' Kalmyk turūn 'hoof,' Dagur torō 'hoof.' Proto-Tungus *tüpa ~ *tüp-ken 'nail, fingernail,' Negidal tipkēn 'nail,' Nanai tukpe 'nail,' Evenki tip-ken 'nail,' Ulch tukpe(n) 'nail,' Orok tupke(n) 'nail.'

MIDDLE KOREAN thop 'nail,' modern Korean son-thop 'nail.'

OLD Japanese tume (< *tuma[-i]) 'nail, claw,' modern Japanese tsume.

• SM 45

66. ?CLAY toi

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic (Räsänen 1969) *tōń, Uighur, toj.

KOREAN tta 'earth' (not found in MLC).

?JAPANESE tuti 'earth.'

AINU toi 'clay, earth'; toj 'mud' (dialects 4 and 5, Hattori 23: 15), toj 'earth, soil' (Hattori 209: 13, all dialects).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Sirenik uta.

67. CLOUD₁ nep

PROTO-Indo-European *nebh-, *nebh- (W), *nebh- (GI) 'mist, fog, cloud,' Hittite nēpis 'sky,' Greek néphos 'cloud, fog,' Old Church Slavic nebo 'sky,' Old Irish nem 'heaven,' Latin nebula 'mist, fog,' Old High German nebul 'mist,' Lithuanian debesìs, Latvian debess 'sky, cloud,' Sanskrit nábhas- 'cloud, mist, sky.'

Chukotian: Northern Kamchadal neep 'snow and fog' (Radliński). Eskimo-Aleut: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *nuviya, North Alaskan Inuit nuviva, Greenlandic nuia.

68. CLOUD₂ kum

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kem- 'hide, cover,' Hittite kammara, Gothic himins 'heaven.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kums, Finnish kumuri 'cloudy,' Mordvin kovol, Komi-Zyrian kimer, Vogul χοπχαt- 'become cloudy,' Hungarian homály 'cloud, fog.' ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus *KVlm- 'shadow,' Manchu xelme 'shadow.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kulum, modern Korean kulim.

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kumo, Ryukyuan kumu.

Chukotian: Chukchi qəmlatək 'appears in the sky, e.g. a rainbow.'

• SM 47

69. COLD lam

PROTO-URALIC *l'omćə 'frozen fine snow,' Ostyak laś 'snow,' Yurak jomće? 'fine sparse snowfall,' Selkup tjomna 'it's snowing.' Cf. also Proto-Finno-Permian *lume 'snow,' Finnish, Estonian lumi 'snow,' Saami lāmma- 'fill up with snow,' Mordvin loŋ 'snow,' Cheremis lum 'snow,' ?Hungarian (dial.) lom 'mud, slime.' AINU nam 'be cold' (dialect 3, Hattori 225: 25).

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak annım 'frost.'

70. COLLECT lek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *leĝ-, *leg- (W), *leĥ'- (GI), Latin legere 'collect, read,' Old English lōcian 'look,' Tocharian A, B läk- 'see.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *luke 'number, count, reckon,' Finnish luke- 'count,' Estonian luge- 'read, count, reckon,' Saami lokkâ- 'read, count, say,' Mordvin luvo- 'read, count,' Cheremis luδa- 'count, read,' Udmurt ləgǯ 'count,' Komi-Zyrian li̞d 'number,' Ostyak luŋət 'count, read.'

Chukotian: Chukchi lg- 'reckon, count' (Stebnitskij), Kamchadal läx 'number, count.'

• IS 366, BK 578

71. COME₁ kel

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *keleu 'wander, road,' Greek kéleuthos 'way, path,' Lithuanian keliauju 'travel.' This is probably an extension of *kel 'drive, cause to move quickly.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kälä- 'wade,' Finnish kahlaa- 'wade,' Saami galle- 'wade in,' Mordvin kel'e 'wade,' Cheremis kelä- 'wade,' Udmurt kol- 'walk in water,' Komi-Zyrian kel- 'wade,' Ostyak kül- 'go on land, go up,' Vogul kāl- 'go, come, stand up,'

Hungarian kel- 'stand up.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma kel-, keleu- ~ kelu- ~ kolu- 'come, go.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *gele 'come, go,' Proto-Turkic *gel-, Old Turkic, Yakut kel-, Turkish, Turkmen gel-, Tatar, Chuvash kil-. Middle Mongolian geli- 'run after,' Written Mongolian geldüri- 'walk slowly,' Khalkha geldre- 'walk slowly.' Proto-Tungus *gel- 'be barely on one's way,' Evenki gel 'be on one's way,' Orok gilin 'be on one's way.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean ka- 'go (away).' Cf. also Korean kəlí 'road, street' (MLC 83) and kël- 'walk.'

OLD JAPANESE ko-, modern Japanese ku-, Ryukyuan ku. Cf. also Ryukyuan kasi 'walking.'

?Ainu ker 'shoe.'

GILYAK kelma-nč 'walk' (Glehn), kly 'street.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *kəl-, Chukchi kəlaw 'run,' Koryak kelawəlatək, Kamchadal k'el 'arrive' (Volodin), k'ol 'come, arrive' (Volodin and Xalojmova).

• SM 252, 253, IS 332, N 161. Is there a related root seen in Proto-Uralic *kulke 'move (intr.), travel by land or water' and in Koryak kule 'go'?

72. COME₂ tul

PROTO-URALIC *tule-, Finnish, Estonian tule-, Saami tolli-, Cheremis tola-, ?Hungarian talál 'find, come upon, think, consider,' Proto-Samoyed *toj- ~ *tuj-, Yurak (Forest) tōš-, Enets to?ado, Selkup tüqo- 'go, come,' Kamassian šōl'am.

?Altaic: Proto-Turkic *tül' 'fall into, fall, move down.' Mongolian tul 'get to, reach.'

KOREAN tyl-ta 'come, enter' (MLC 534).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal tul 'bring.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut cala- 'land, come ashore,' Proto-Eskimo *tulay- 'land, come ashore,' Central Alaskan Yupik tulay- 'arrive (especially at land from the sea),' North Alaskan Inuit tulak- 'come ashore,' Greenlandic tulay- 'land, come ashore.'

 \bullet IS 357. Cf. RUN₂

73. CONE kon

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $k\bar{e}$ no ~ * $k\bar{e}$ no 'whetstone,' * $k\bar{e}$ (W) 'to sharpen, whet,' Greek $k\hat{e}$ nos 'pine cone, top (child's toy),' Sanskrit ś \bar{a} na-'whetstone.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal kunkun 'cedar, pine cone.'

74. CONTAINER₁ suli

Proto-Uralic *suls 'vessel, container,' Estonian sulu 'trough,' Udmurt śulis 'longish, round,' Enets súðoka 'troughlike container,' Selkup solak 'scoop.'

Proto-Altaic *sUrV 'a kind of dish, basket,' Proto-Tungus *sora 'basket,' Manchu šoro 'dish,' Nanai soro 'dish.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *serūKV 'a kind of box or bag,' Proto-Turkic *sarāk(-uč) 'woman's bag,' Old Turkic sarāyuč 'bag,' Turkmen sarag 'bag.' Middle Mongolian sarku 'vessel, kitchen dish,' Written Mongolian sarqu 'dish,' Kalmyk sarxə 'dish.' Proto-Tungus *seruk 'dish, bag,' Evenki seruk 'bag,' Even hēruk 'bag, dish,' Orok seruku 'bag.'

MIDDLE KOREAN sola 'dish, vessel.' Cf. also Middle Korean səlk 'a kind of box.

OLD Japanese suri 'vessel, container.' Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese sara 'plate.'

• SM 307

75. CONTAINER₂ koca

Proto-Indo-European *kwas-jo- '(wicker) basket,' Latin quālus 'wicker basket,' quasīllus 'small basket,' Old Church Slavic košī 'basket,' Russian koš 'basket.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *koća ~ *kuća 'drinking vessel,' Mordvin koću 'scoop,' Ostyak kot'į 'drinking vessel'; Proto-Finno-Ugric *koća 'basket,' Finnish kosio 'large birch-bark fish basket,' Saami guöšše 'bark basket,' Ostyak kŏtək 'bark box in the shape of a scoop,' Vogul sānχos 'small bark basket.'

JAPANESE: Old Japanese *kasi-pa* 'a container for food and/or drink' (-pa is a variant of pë 'pot').

• N 241

76. COOK (v.) peku

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pek*-, *pek*- (W), *phekh*- (GI) 'roast, boil, cook,' Old Church Slavic peko 'bake, roast,' Latin coquō 'I cook,' Albanian pjek 'bake,' Tocharian A päk- 'becomes ready for eating.'
- YUKAGHIR: Tundra pugolet 'to warm,' Kolyma pugeč 'hot,' Omok pugipt 'it is hot.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ek'u ~ *pek'u 'hot, warm,' Proto-Tungus *peku 'hot,' Nanai peku 'hot,' Evenki heku 'hot,' Manchu fáka-n 'heat,' Ulch pukeuli 'hot.'
- KOREAN $(p)pakil \sim pəkil$ 'boiling' (MLC 703). Cf. also Middle Korean phuk 'warm,' modern Korean phuk-hada 'warm.'
- Japanese wak-u (< *bak-u) 'boil.'
- Chukotian: Koryak $p \ni \gamma p \ni \gamma$ 'boil,' Kamchadal $p'axp'a\eta$ 'boiled jukola.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut: Atka huʁðay- 'boil,' Proto-Eskimo *puqla 'heat water, hot water,' Central Siberian Yupik, Central Alaskan Yupik puqła 'warmth, heat,' North Alaskan Inuit puqłaq- 'put in boiling water to remove feathers (bird),' West Canadian Inuit puqłaqtaq 'boiling water.'
 - MR 38

77. COOK/FOOD ep

- ?PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *eph- 'to cook,' only in Armenian ep'em and Greek epsō (with rare and doubtful Indo-European voiceless aspirate).
- PROTO-URALIC *peje- 'cook, boil,' Mordvin pije- 'cooked,' Komi-Zyrian pu- 'cook, boil,' Vogul pāj- 'cook, boil,' Hungarian fő- 'cook, boil,' Yurak pī- 'cooked,' Enets feri?a 'bring to a boil,'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *ep'e 'food, bread,' Proto-Turkic *Epej 'bread,' Tatar ipi 'bread,' Proto-Turkic *ebin 'grain, seed,' Old Turkic evin 'grain,' Chuvash avən 'grain.' Proto-Tungus *epe 'baked bread, cake,' Manchu efen 'bread,' Nanai epĕ 'bread,' Evenki ewedi 'bread,' Proto-Tungus *ibi 'pick out seeds.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN pap 'food,' pjə 'grain of rice,' modern Korean pjə 'grain of rice.'
- OLD JAPANESE opo-mono 'food.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak apa 'to cook,' əpa-ŋa 'soup.'

78. COVER₁ arek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *areq-, *arek- (W) 'protect, close, contain,' Hittite ḥark- 'hold, have,' Latin arceō 'shut in, prevent,' arca 'container,' Greek arkéo 'ward off.'

GILYAK: Sakhalin ařk'u 'cover, put on a cover.'

Chukotian: Chukchi arkar 'quiver for arrows,' Koryak ajqaje 'gun case.'

79. COVER₂ wur

?Proto-Indo-European *uer-, *wer- (W) 'cover, close, protect,' Latin aperiō (< *ap-uer-io-) 'I open, uncover,' Old English werian 'guard,' Albanian varr 'grave,' Sanskrit vṛṇóti 'covers, surrounds.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *uri 'dig,' Proto-Turkic *or- 'dig, hole, pit,' Turkmen or- 'dig, hole,' Chuvash var 'hole, pit.' Middle Mongolian örüm 'drill,' Khalkha öröm 'drill,' Monguor urəm 'drill.' Proto-Tungus *urī- 'dig out, to scoop,' Orok, Even uri- 'dig out,' Evenki urī- 'dig out,' Manchu wara- 'dig out.'

AINU ori 'dig out.'

Chukotian: Chukchi wəlpa 'shovel,' Koryak ulgəv 'grave, pit.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *uliy(-) 'cover, blanket,' Alutiiq ulik 'blanket,' Naukan ulikutaq 'cover, blanket,' Central Alaskan Yupik ulik 'blanket,' uliy- 'use a blanket,' North Alaskan Inuit ulik 'blanket,' Greenlandic ulik 'cover, bedspread,' uliy- 'cover (v.).'

80. COVER₃ pata

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *pent3- 'close, cover,' Komi-Zyrian ped- 'close,' Udmurt pod- 'close,' Ostyak pent-, Vogul $p\ddot{a}nt$ - 'close,' Hungarian $f\ddot{e}d$ - $\sim f\ddot{o}d$ -.

PROTO-ALTAIC *biot'e, Proto-Turkic *bat- 'hide, conceal,' Old Turkic batur- 'hide,' Chuvash pidar- 'hide.' Middle Mongolian bute- 'e, Written Mongolian bütü, Khalkha bütē-, Kalmyk büt-, Dagur butu 'covered, secret,' Monguor pudē-.

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese futa 'lid, cover,' Ryukyuan huta.

AINU putu 'lid'; puta 'lid' (dialects 1-6, 8, 9, Hattori 119: 30).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *patuy 'frost or ice forming a crust,' Sirenik patux 'crust of frost,' Central Alaskan Yupik patux luk 'ice fog, overcast weather,' Central Siberian Yupik patuk 'ice fog, overcast weather,' North Alaskan Inuit patuk 'frost of breath on ruff,' West Canadian Inuit patuk 'rime frost.'

81. COVER₄ talu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s) $t\bar{a}i$ -, *(s) t^haHi - (GI) 'conceal, carry out secretly, steal,' Hittite $t\bar{a}yezzi$ 'steals,' Sanskrit $st\bar{a}y\acute{a}t$ 'hidden, secret,' $t\bar{a}yu$ 'thief,' Old Church Slavic $taj\varrho$ 'hide,' taj 'secret.' Proto-Indo-European *y comes from *l'.

PROTO-ALTAIC *dal'V 'close, hide,' Proto-Turkic *jal' 'close, hide,' Old Turkic jašur- 'cover, hide,' jašin 'hide oneself,' Turkmen jaš- 'close.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Dagur dalda 'hidden,' Khalkha dald 'secret, unnoticed.' Proto-Tungus *dal(i)- 'close,' Evenki dal(i)-, Manchu dali- 'close,' Ulch dāli- 'close.'

GILYAK tali.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *talu(-) 'screen, partition,' Alutiiq talu- 'be overcast,' Central Alaskan Yupik talu 'partition between two family areas in a house,' North Alaskan Inuit talu- 'cover,' Greenlandic talu- 'put up a partition'; *talit- 'go out of sight (behind a shelter),' Alutiiq talitə- 'go out of sight behind a shelter, become obscured (sun),' Central Siberian Yupik talitə- 'go out of sight behind something,' North Alaskan Inuit talit-, Greenlandic talit- 'dock, lean up against something'; *ta(a)lutaq 'screen, curtain,' North Alaskan Inuit taalutaq 'something blocking one's view,' Greenlandic taalutaq 'shooting sail on kayak.'

82. COVER₅ kom

PROTO-ALTAIC *komu 'cover, wrap up,' Proto-Turkic *Kun-da'to swaddle,' Turkish kundak 'swaddling,' Turkmen gunda- 'to
swaddle.' Middle Mongolian yumbi- 'wrap up,' Written Mongolian qumi 'wrap up,' Khalkha xumi 'wrap up,' Dagur komo'wrap up.' Proto-Tungus *kum- 'cover oneself, cover up,' Negidal, Ulch kumul 'cover oneself,' Evenki kumu 'cover oneself,'
Orok kumele 'cover oneself.'

KOREAN kamchu-ta 'hide, conceal, cover' (MLC 55).

MODERN JAPANESE kom- 'be packed, full, jammed.'

Ainu kamuje 'wrap, cover it up' (Hattori 144: 107), Sakhalin kamu (Majewicz and Majewicz).

GILYAK kobe-nč 'wrap' (Glehn).

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *kəma 'clothing,' Chukchi qəmten 'ceiling,' Kamchadal kuma(-ka-s) 'dress oneself,' (ən-)kumə(-s) 'dress oneself,' quma 'put on shoes' (Worth), kumat ~ komat 'dress oneself' (Worth).

• IS 356

83. COVER₆ tep

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ep'a, Proto-Tungus *tepku 'couch cover,' Evenki tepku, Negidal tepke, Orok tupo.

MIDDLE KOREAN $t \ni ph$ - $\sim tuph$ -, modern Korean $t \ni ph$ - (MLC 454). OLD JAPANESE tapa- 'shut, obstruct.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi tup 'clod used to cover a dwelling for winter.'

84. COVER₇ lep

Proto-Indo-European *lep- 'peel,' Greek lepō 'peel,' Old English lōf 'headband,' Lithuanian lāpas 'leaf,' lōpas 'patch, piece.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *läpp3 'to cover, a cover,' Hungarian lep- 'cover (v.),' Cheremis lewaš 'roof, lid, coverlet,' Udmurt lip- 'cover (v.),' lipet 'roof,' Vogul liip- 'cover (v.),' Ostyak tep 'sleeping-tent.'

GILYAK lyv-, ylv-s 'roof, shed,' West Sakhalin ylv- \check{r} 'roof, shed.'

• IS 356, N 268

85. CRANE taru

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *tar3- $k3 \sim *tark3$, Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian turi, Ostyak taray, Vogul $t\bar{a}riy$, Hungarian daru.

Proto-Altaic *turu, Proto-Turkic *durunja, *turuńa (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic turunja, Turkish turna, Tatar torna, Azerbaijani, Turkmen durna, Chuvash torna. Middle Mongolian toyoriyun, Kalmyk turay.

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean tulumi.

Old Japanese turu, modern Japanese tsuru.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *tatəlyas (< *taltalyas?), Alutiiq tatəlxaq, Western Canadian Inuit tatilyaq, Eastern Canadian Inuit tatilyaq 'heron.'

• SM 55

86. CUT $cek \sim sek$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *sek-, *sek- (W), Latin secō 'I cut,' Old Church Slavic seko.

Proto-Uralic *ćäŋkɔ ~ *śäŋkɔ 'break,' Udmurt čig- 'break (intr.),' Komi-Zyrian ćeg- 'break,' Ostyak seŋk- 'beat, strike,' Vogul säŋg- 'break,' Hungarian szeg- 'sew, stich, hem.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *šiuk'e 'to carve, tear,' Proto-Turkic *sök- 'to split, tear apart,' Old Turkic, Turkmen sök- 'to split, tear apart.' Middle Mongolian suke 'axe,' Written Mongolian süke 'axe,' Khalkha süx 'axe,' Kalmyk sükə 'axe,' Dagur sugu 'axe.' Proto-Tungus *šuk- 'chisel, to carve, engrave, hit (with horns), strike, notches on a bow end,' Manchu šuki- 'hit, strike,' šukun 'notches on a bow end, Nanai čuktuli- 'carve, engrave.'

MIDDLE KOREAN saki 'carve, engrave,' modern Korean ssak 'cut off' (MLC 889), sayki 'carve' (MLC 920).

OLD JAPANESE sak- 'split,' saki '(a) cut, split,' Ryukyuan saking 'to crack.' Cf. also Japanese sogu 'chip, cut off, slice off.'

GILYAK t'ako 'knife,' tux 'axe' (Schrenck).

Сникотіан: Palana Koryak sy-əkki 'dig.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut sixsa- (intr.), sixsi- (tr.) 'break in two,' Proto-Eskimo *ciyi- 'be brittle, crack,' Alutiiq cii- 'get smashed,' Central Siberian Yupik siyiqə- 'break, shatter,' North Alaskan Inuit siyyit- 'break, crack cleanly,' Greenlandic sixxit- 'be brittle, crack, break.'

• SM 217

87. CUT OFF kap

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)kep- \sim *(s)kop- \sim *kap- 'to cut with a sharp implement, split,' Latin $scab\bar{o}$ 'I shave, scratch, scrape,' Gothic skaban 'shear,' Latvian $skab\hat{i}t$ 'hew off.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *kåptə- 'castrate,' Yurak (Tundra) $x\bar{a}pt\bar{a}$

'castrate,' Selkup kóptap 'castrate.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kopV 'to plane, whet,' Proto-Turkic *kobĺa- 'to sharpen, plane, sharpened arrow,' Old Turkic qovša- 'sharpen,' Turkish qovuš 'sharpened (arrow).' Middle Mongolian kobiki 'a kind of chisel,' Written Mongolian qobki 'chisel,' Khalkha xovki 'chisel.' Proto-Tungus *kuba- 'to scrape, plane,' Negidal kowa- 'scrape,' Manchu quwa-fixa- 'scrape,' Orok quwai 'plough,' Even quwun 'scraper,' Evenki kuwa- 'scrape.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut kavtiyya- 'be brittle,' Proto-Eskimo *kəpə- 'cut, sever,' Sirenik kəpit(ə)- 'cut off,' Alutiiq kəpə- 'break, snap, cut crosswise,' Central Alaskan Yupik kəpə- 'cut, sever,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic kipi- 'cut (off).'

• IS 362, N 193

88. DARK₁ polm

Proto-Indo-European *pel- 'pale, gray; used in expressions for indistinct colors,' Latin pallēre 'be pale,' Middle Irish līath 'gray,' Lithuanian pilkas 'gray,' Sanskrit palitá- 'gray.'

PROTO-URALIC *pil'm3 'dark, become dark,' Finnish pimeä, Estonian pime 'dark, blind,' Udmurt pel'mit, Komi-Zyrian pemid, Yurak päemće.

PROTO-ALTAIC *bela 'pale,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian balai 'dark, blind,' Khalkha balaj, Buriat balaj, Dagur baliə 'vague, indistinct.' Tungus: Manchu balu 'blind' (Poppe; borrowing from Mongolian?).

GILYAK polm 'be blind.'

Chukotian: Chukchi pəlməpəl 'darkness,' pəlmatək 'become dark.'
• N 6, MR 44, BK 13

89. DARK₂ tum

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $tem_{\tilde{\sigma}}$ -, * $t\acute{o}mh_x$ es (MA) 'dark,' Latin tem_{ere} 'blindly,' Lithuanian tamsà 'darkness,' Latvian $t\grave{u}ms$ a 'darkness,' Old Church Slavic $t\breve{u}ma$ 'darkness,' Avestan $t\eth mah$ - 'darkness,' Sanskrit $t\acute{a}mas$ - 'darkness.' Cf. also *dhem- 'dark.'

?PROTO-URALIC (Illich-Svitych) * $tumV \sim tumV$ 'opaque, dark,' Mordvin tuman. These Balto-Finnic forms are probably borrowings of Russian tuman 'mist, fog, haze.'

PROTO-ALTAIC (Illich-Svitych) *t'umV- 'darkness, haze,' ?Turkic: Turkish duman 'fog, darkness' (< Russian tuman 'fog, mist, haze?). Tungus: Evenki tama 'fog,' tamna- 'be obscured by fog' (Tsintsius II: 159), Negidal tamna 'fog,' Manchu talma- 'be obscured by fog.'

KOREAN $\partial tu(u)m$ (MLC 112).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal tem(-es) 'hide (tr.), cover.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *ta(a)mla(-k) 'darkness,' Alutiiq $taml \ni k$, Central Alaskan Yupik $taaml \ni k$.

• IS 368, MR 53, BK 101

90. DARK₃ ami

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ams- 'blackbird,' Old High German amusla 'blackbird,' Old English ōsle 'blackbird,' Latin merula 'blackbird.'

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma emi 'be dark,' emi-ł 'night.'

OLD JAPANESE yami.

Chukotian: Western Kamchadal amelan 'hidden' (Radliński), amelan 'secretly' (Worth).

• BK 462

91. DAY₁ aka

Japanese -ka, as in futu-ka 'two days.'

AINU tut-ko 'two days,' rere-ko 'three days.'

GILYAK ku '24 hour day.'

Chukotian: Chukchi kiwkiw '24 hour day,' Southern Kamchadal kaa-č 'sun' (Radliński).

92. DAY₂ agan

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *agher- \sim *agher- \sim *aghos-, *agh- (W) 'day,' Sanskrit ahar (nominative singular), ahan (oblique stem), Avestan azan-, Old Norse dagr, Old High German tag.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ayadaq 'sun' (Geoghegan), Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *əʁnəq, Alutiiq *əʁnəq, Central Siberian Yupik *aʁnəq.

93. DESIRE₁ keri

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ĝher-, *gher- (W) 'desire, like, want,' Umbrian heriest 'wishes,' Old Norse girna 'desire, yearn,' Old English giernan 'yearn,' Old High German gerōn 'want, desire, long for,' Sanskrit háryati 'finds pleasure in, desires.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kerä- 'ask for,' Finnish kerää- 'gather,' Estonian kerja 'beg,' Udmurt kur- 'ask for,' Komi-Zyrian kor- 'ask for,' Hungarian kér- 'ask for, demand.'
- Proto-Altaic *k'juía 'covet,' Proto-Turkic *Kií 'wish, envy, expensive, miserly,' Old Turkic qiz 'expensive, miserly.' Middle Mongolian kuriča 'covet,' Written Mongolian quriča 'covet,' Khalkha xuíca- 'covet,' Kalmyk xöícə- 'covet.' Proto-Tungus *xur- 'be jealous, copulate (of deer),' Nanai, Ulch xoralsi 'be jealous,' Orok xurali 'be jealous,' xori- 'copulate (of deer),' Even urli 'be jealous.'
- KOREAN kɨli- 'wishes, is lonely' (MLC 237), kalkawi- 'greedy person' (MLC 42).
- AINU kerai 'grace, favor, help,' kire 'ask, request' (dialect 5, Hattori 77: 48).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *əkli 'lust for,' Sirenik kə fə kəqə(s)'be interested in,' Alutiiq ikii(yuy)- 'lust for,' Naukan qili- 'desire (a woman), lust for,' Central Alaskan Yupik ək fi(yuy)- 'lust
 for, be sexually aroused by someone,' Greenlandic if fiyi- 'desire,
 have an appetite for.'
 - IS 342

94. DESIRE₂ per(k)

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *per(e)\$\vec{k}\$-, *prek- (W), *p^h\$r-s\$\vec{k}\$- (GI) 'ask, seek,' Old Irish arcu 'ask,' Latin poscō 'I ask,' precor 'I ask for,' Old High German fr\vec{a}g\vec{e}n 'ask,' Old Church Slavic prositi 'ask,' Tocharian A, B p\vec{a}rk- 'ask.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ero 'wish, desire,' Proto-Turkic *er- 'coquetry, cockering, beloved, lover,' Tatar irmek 'joke,' Turkmen ermek 'cockering,' Chuvash jərgəń 'lover,' Yakut erke 'cockering.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *p'iru 'pray, bless,' Proto-Turkic *ir- 'prediction, luck,' Old Turkic irk 'prediction.' Mongolian irü-ge 'pronounce a blessing.' Proto-Tungus *per- 'esteem, wait,' Even

her- 'esteem,' herut 'wait,' Evenki heriče- 'esteem,' herū- 'wait.' Cf. also Proto-Tungus *pirugē- 'pray,' Evenki hirugē 'pray,' Manchu firu- 'pray,' hiru-yē- 'entreat' (Tsintsius II: 387), which are probably all borrowings from Mongolian.

KOREAN pīl- 'beg, pray' (MLC 862), pala- 'desires, seeks, wants' (MLC 704).

OLD JAPANESE por- 'wish, hope, desire.'

?CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal pilq-'fondle.'

• SM 62, IS 357, N 374, BK 67

95. DESIRE₃ ave

PROTO-ALTAIC *ēpo 'hunt, kill,' Proto-Turkic *Āb 'hunt, chase,' *āb (Räsänen) (< *hāb) 'hunt (n.),' Old Turkic ab ~ aw 'hunt (n.),' Turkmen āv 'hunt.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian aba 'to hunt,' Khalkha av 'hunt,' Kalmyk awə 'hunt.' According to Poppe (1960: 46) the Mongolian forms derive from *pāba, but Räsänen (1949: 124–25) finds evidence for initial p- or b-doubtful. Proto-Tungus *wā- (< *ebā-?) 'kill,' Negidal, Nanai, Orok, Even, Evenki wā- 'kill,' Manchu wa- 'kill,' Ulch wāwu 'kill.'

OLD JAPANESE op- 'follow, chase,' modern Japanese o- 'follow, chase.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak evvi 'on purpose.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ivaʁ- 'look for,' Naukan, Central Siberian Yupik ivaʁ- 'look for,' Alutiiq iwa- ~ yuaʁ- 'look for,' Central Alaskan Yupik yuaʁ- ~ ivaʁ- 'look for, miss,' North Alaskan Inuit ivaq- 'look for,' Greenlandic uyaʁ- ~ ivaq- 'look for.' Cf. also Proto-Inuit *auvaq 'hunt caribou,' Western Canadian Inuit auvaq- 'hunt caribou,' Greenlandic aavaʁ- 'go on caribou hunt.'

96. DIE kola

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *gwel- 'pain, anguish, death; bite, sting, pierce,' Old Prussian gallan 'death,' Lithuanian gélti 'sting (as a bee).'

PROTO-URALIC *kola-, Finnish kuole-, Mordvin kulo-, Cheremis kole-, Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian kul-, Ostyak kăla-, Vogul kāl-, Yu-

rak $\chi \bar{a}$, Enets $k\bar{a}$ -.

OLD JAPANESE kara 'wither, die, be dead,' korosu 'kill,' modern Japanese koros- 'kill.'

Chukotian: Chukchi koolgə 'fall down dead' (Bogoras 1922), Kamchadal klf- \sim klx- 'fall.'

• BK 359

97. DIRT₁ ker

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)ker-(d)-, *sker- (W), *skher/n- (GI), Hittite sakkar 'excrement,' Old Norse skarn 'dung, manure,' Latin mūscerda 'mouse dung,' Sanskrit kardama- 'mud, dirt, filth.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'iri 'dirt, dirty,' Proto-Turkic *kir, Old Turkic, Turkish, Turkmen, Yakut kir. Middle Mongolian kīr, Written Mongolian, Kalmyk kir, Khalkha xir.

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kitana- 'be dirty.'

GILYAK: Amur kis, East Sakhalin keř 'dirt, mud.'

Chukotian: Chukchi čeričer, Koryak čerəčer, Kamchadal qel 'excrement.'

98. DIRT₂ ter

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)ter(-k) 'unclean liquids,' e.g. Latin stercus 'excrement,' Welsh trwnc 'urine.'

Proto-Altaic *t'ḗru 'dirt, dung,' Proto-Turkic *térek 'dung,' Old Turkic, Turkmen tezek 'dung.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $t\bar{\partial}l$ - 'dirty, become dirty,' modern Korean $t\bar{\partial}l$ -m-ta 'dirty.'

• IS 336, N 50

99. DIRT $_3$ tor

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ōr´e 'soil, dust,' Proto-Turkic *tōr´ 'dust,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani toz 'dust,' Turkmen $t\bar{o}z$ 'dust,' Yakut tor 'soot.' Proto-Tungus *turV 'earth, lump of earth,' Negidal $t\bar{u}j$ 'earth,' Nanai tur-qa 'earth,' Evenki (dial.) tur 'earth.'

?Modern Japanese doro 'dirt' (< Proto-Japanese *tərə 'dirt'). This form is attested late and the initial consonant is unclear.

AINU turu 'dirt, filth'; tur (dialects 1–8), turu (dialect 9, Hattori 19: 161); toru-uš 'dirty, unclean' (Moshiogusa).

100. DISAPPEAR sala

PROTO-ALTAIC *sala 'be separated,' Middle Mongolian sal(u)- 'become separated, branch off,' Written Mongolian salu- 'become separated,' Khalkha, Dagur sala- 'branch off,' Kalmyk, Monguor sal- 'become separated.'

MIDDLE KOREAN săl- 'disappear,' modern Korean sil 'disappear, be gone, vanish' (MLC 1027).

OLD JAPANESE sar- 'depart, go away,' modern Japanese saru 'go away.'

AINU sura 'let alone, cast away.'

• SM 249

101. DO_1 si

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *sal 'put,' Old Turkic, Turkish sal 'put,' Chuvash sol- 'put.' Proto-Tungus *se(:)- 'say, auxiliary verb,' Manchu se- 'do, say.'

MIDDLE KOREAN hă 'make,' modern Korean ha-da 'make.'

Japanese su-ru (present si-) 'do,' Ryukyuan sh-ung 'do.'

GILYAK: Amur si- 'place, put,' Southeast Sakhalin si- 'put in' (Hattori 1962).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal s-.

102. DO_2 ki

PROTO-ALTAIC * $ki \sim *k'i$ 'do, make,' Proto-Turkic *Kil- 'do, make,' Old Turkic qil- 'do, make,' Yakut kin 'do, make.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian ki- 'do, make,' Khalkha xij-, Dagur $k\bar{i} \sim x\bar{i}$, Monguor $g\bar{\sigma}$ -, Evenki $k\bar{\sigma}$ -.

KOREAN -ki- 'do, be, factitive.'

?OLD JAPANESE kiduk 'build,' modern Japanese kizuk- 'build,' Ryukyuan kituk- 'build.'

AINU ki 'do, accomplish.'

• N 182, BK 320

103. DO_3 tek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $dh\bar{e}$, * $dheh_1$ (MA) 'put, place,' English do. The -k ending found in the perfect tense in Greek éthēka and Latin fē $c\bar{i}$ 'I made' reappears elsewhere.

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *teke- 'do, make,' Finnish teke- 'make, do,' Estonian tege-, Saami takki-, Mordvin t'eje, Hungarian tëv-. Chukotian: Chukchi tejk 'do, make,' Koryak tejk-.

104. DO₄ ag

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *aĝ-, *ag- (W), *ak'- (GI) 'drive, do,' Latin agere 'do, act, drive.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut agu-lix 'to make, build, manufacture.'

105. DOG_1 kan $\sim kun$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kūon- \sim *kun-, *kwon- (W), *khwon- (GI), Hittite kuwan- \sim kun- 'dog-man,' Old Irish cū (genitive con), Latin canis, Old Prussian sunis, Latvian suns, Armenian sun, Tocharian B ku.

PROTO-URALIC (Illich-Svitych) *küjnä 'wolf'; Finno-Ugric: Northern Saami gâidne 'wolf,' Udmurt kỹjon 'wolf,' Komi kỏin 'wolf'; Samoyed: Selkup kana(-k) 'dog' (probably a borrowing).

PROTO-ALTAIC *kaŋV 'dog,' Proto-Turkic *KAŋ-čik 'bitch, female,' Old Turkic qančiq 'bitch,' Turkish kanʒik 'female,' Azerbaijani canǯic 'bitch,' Turkmen canǯik 'bitch.' Mongolian: Mongol qani 'a wild masterless dog.' Proto-Tungus *kači-kān (< *kan-čikan?) 'puppy,' Negidal kači-xān 'puppy,' Evenki kači-kān 'puppy.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ka(h)i, modern Korean $k\ddot{a}$ (MLC 65) (< kai < $ka\acute{n}i$, Ramstedt 1949). Cf. also Middle Korean $ka\jmath a\check{z}i$ 'puppy,' modern Korean $ka\jmath a\check{z}i$ 'puppy.'

GILYAK qan. Southeast Gilyak qan-ŋ shows that -n is part of the stem (Hattori 1962).

Chukotian: Chukchi $kej\eta$ - 'bear,' Koryak $kaj\eta$ - 'bear.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Sirenik qanaya 'wolf' is a borrowing from Mongolian or Turkic.

• N 238, BR 9

106. DOG₂ at

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic * $it \sim *it$, Old Turkic, Yakut it, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen it, Chuvash jida.

GILYAK atk 'wolf' (Schrenck).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ?ətt?yn, Koryak atx, Aliutor ?ət, Kamchadal attara 'kennel.'

107. DOWN kata

Proto-Indo-European *kat- (W), Hittite katta 'down, under, along,' katkattiya 'kneel, go down,' Greek katá, Tocharian B kätk- 'to lower.'

GILYAK kuttyč 'fall.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *katay- 'fall, drop,' Sirenik katay- 'drop, pour out,' Alutiiq katay- 'fall, dump or pour out,' Naukan kata- 'drop, fall out, pour out,' Central Alaskan Yupik katay- 'fall out, fall off, drop,' North Alaskan Inuit katak 'fall, drop,' Greenlandic katay- 'drop, fall.'

108. DREAM (v.) tol

PROTO-ALTAIC * $t'\bar{u}l(k')e$ 'dream, divination,' Proto-Turkic * $d\bar{u}l \sim d\bar{u}l$, Old Turkic $t\bar{u}l \sim t\bar{u}s$, Turkish $d\bar{u}s$, Turkmen $d\bar{u}s$, Chuvash $t\bar{o}l\bar{o}k$, Yakut $t\bar{u}l$. Middle Mongolian tolge 'divination, prediction,' Written Mongolian $t\bar{o}lge$ 'divination,' Khalkha $t\bar{o}l\bar{o}g$ 'divination,' Kalmyk $t\bar{o}lge$ 'divination.' Proto-Tungus *tolki-n, Manchu $tolgin \sim tolxin$, Negidal tolkin, Orok, Ulch $tol\check{c}i(n)$, Evenki tolkin.

Korean cōl-ta 'dozes, falls asleep' (MLC 1480).

AINU tara-pe 'mattress,' atara-pe 'couch, mattress, traveling bag' (-pe 'thing' is a substantivizer; cf. SPEAK₄.).

109. DRESS₁ (v.) ip

PROTO-ALTAIC *iope 'cover, wear,' Middle Mongolian ihe'e- 'protect,' Written Mongolian ibege- 'protect,' Khalkha ivē- 'protect.' Proto-Tungus *upsi 'shaman clothes, belt made of a badger's skin,' Negidal, Ulch upsi 'shaman clothes,' Nanai ufsi 'belt.'

KOREAN ip- 'put on clothes' (MLC 1634). Starostin et al. (2002)

compare psi- 'put on (a hat)' rather than the form given here.

OLD Japanese $op-\sim opop-$ 'to cover, put on clothes,' modern Japanese $\bar{o}-$ 'put on clothes.'

GILYAK: West Sakhalin pi(-nč) 'put on (clothing)' (Glehn).

Chukotian: Chukchi $ip \sim ep \sim \gamma p$ 'put on clothing' (Bogoras 1922: 812).

110. ?DRESS₂ (v.) isu

OLD JAPANESE so 'clothe.'

Chukotian: Koryak iss \sim ič.

111. DRIP sala

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *selĝ-, *selĥ- (GI) 'release, send away, throw, pour out,' Anglo-Saxon be-sylcan 'come to lose strength,' Middle High German sëlken 'drip,' Avestan hərəzaiti 'releases, sends out.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *sarkV 'to drip, splatter,' Proto-Turkic *sark- 'drip, overflow,' Old Turkic, Tatar sarq-, Chuvash sərx-ən-. Middle Mongolian sark- 'drip, sprinkle,' Written Mongolian sarkira-, Kalmyk sarkr-. Proto-Tungus *sargi- 'to splatter (of water, rain),' Evenki sargi 'splatter.'

112. DRY₁ pa

OLD Japanese pu- $\sim po$ - 'dry up,' modern Japanese hi- 'dry up,' Ryukyuan fu-šu η .

GILYAK pa 'become yellow, become dry, fade.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak pa-, Chukchi pa- 'become dry.'

113. DRY₂ saru

Proto-Uralic *śars- 'become dry,' *šorwa 'to dry.'

OLD JAPANESE sara 'become dry, expose to sun and wind,' sarasu 'to bleach, let dry (tr.).'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *caluy- 'be dried out, dry out,' Sirenik saluxt(ə)- 'dry, be dried out,' Naukan saluy- 'be dying of thirst,' Central Alaskan Yupik caluxtə- 'tan by scraping,' North Alaskan Inuit saluksi- 'clean skin by hitting with a stick,' Green-

landic saluy- 'be thin.'

114. DRY₃ cak

Proto-Indo-European *seik- ~ *seik*-, *sek- (MA) 'dry, drain, run off,' Old Irish sesc 'sterile,' Latin siccus, Avestan hišku-, Sanskrit sikatā 'sand.'

PROTO-URALIC *čoka 'shallow, become dry,' Saami coakke 'low water (in river or sea),' Selkup čeka 'dry up.'

YUKAGHIR čoyu 'shallow,' čogunne 'be shallow (of a river).'

Proto-Altaic *siogu 'shallow (place),' Turkic: Turkish sig 'shallow,' Tatar, Turkmen saj 'shallow.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian siyar 'dregs, sediment,' Khalkha, Kalmyk šār 'sediment,' Monguor šārō 'sediment.'

KOREAN čakal 'gravel' (MLC 1372).

AINU usak 'dry,' usakka 'to dry'; saxke 'dry' (Majewicz and Majewicz), sak 'summer,' saxte 'to dry out in summer' (Dobrotvorskij).

Chukotian: Chukchi *čəyayləŋən* 'sand,' Koryak *čəyej* 'sand, powder.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut cuγu-χ 'sand,' Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *ciuκαq 'sand,' North Alaskan Inuit siuκαq 'expanse of fine sand,' Greenlandic siuκαq 'grain of sand.'

115. DRY₄ kin

KOREAN kən-hata 'be dry' (hata 'to be'; MLC 95).

Chukotian: Kamchadal kin 'become dry.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut knaðyu- 'dry, not dressed (hide),' Proto-Eskimo *kinəʁ- 'drip dry,' Central Siberian Yupik, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kinəʁ- 'dry,' Greenlandic kiniʁ- 'have run off (water).'

116. DYE (v.) $som \sim sim$

MIDDLE KOREAN čama-ti- 'soak,' modern Korean symi-ta 'soaks into, permeates' (MLC 1025). Cf. also Middle Korean simii- 'soak, permeate.'

OLD JAPANESE som- 'dye, dip,' modern Japanese some-ru 'dye, tinge,' somar-u 'be dyed, tinged.' Cf. also Old Japanese sim-

'soak,' modern Japanese shimir-u 'soak.'

AINU sime (dialect 3, Hattori 282: 2), isome (dialect 2).

• SM 205

117. EARTH₁ sir

PROTO-ALTAIC *siaŕi 'earth, sand, marsh,' Proto-Turkic *siaŕ 'dirt, marsh,' Chuvash šor 'marsh,' Chagatai, Kumyk saz 'swamp.' Middle Mongolian šira'u, Khalkha šorō, Kalmyk šorā, Dagur širō, Monguor śirū. Proto-Tungus *siru- 'sand,' Evenki sirugī 'sand,' Ulch siru(n) 'sand,' Nanai siro(n) 'sand.'

MIDDLE KOREAN halk, modern Korean hik.

AINU sir 'earth, world, weather.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut sla-χ ~ ła-χ 'wind, weather,' Proto-Eskimo *cila ~ *cila 'weather, outside world,' Sirenik siła ~ sila 'weather, world, outside,' Alutiiq ła 'weather, world, outside,' Naukan siła 'weather, world, outside,' Central Alaskan Yupik ciła 'weather, world, outside,' North Alaskan Inuit sil³a 'weather, outside,' Greenlandic sila 'weather, outside, the world.'

118. EARTH₂ mag

Proto-Indo-European *magh- 'earth, land,' Sanskrit mahī, Old Irish mag 'plain, open field,' Welsh maes 'field, plain,' Breton meaz 'field.'

PROTO-URALIC *maye 'land, earth, ground,' Finnish, Estonian maa, Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian mu, Ostyak $m\breve{e}y$, Vogul $m\bar{a}$, Tavgy mou, Selkup ma-.

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma *mi-be* 'lower end' (literally, 'earth-LOCATIVE'). AINU *ma* 'peninsula, island.'

GILYAK mi-f 'earth' (literally, 'earth-LOCATIVE').

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *massas 'mud,' Chaplino massaq 'marshy area,' Alutiiq massaq 'swampy area,' Central Alaskan Yupik massaq 'marshy, muddy low land,' Western Canadian Inuit massaq 'mud,' Greenlandic maχχaq 'clay.'

• IS 342, MR 25, BK 553. This etymon, in a reduced grammaticized form, may well the source of the Eurasiatic -m locative (see Volume 1: 139–44).

119. EARTH/SAND man ∼ mar

PROTO-ALTAIC *māro 'sand, stony earth, marsh,' Proto-Turkic *bōr 'clay, earth, chalk,' Yakut buor 'earth,' Tatar bur 'chalk,' Chuvash pora 'chalk.' Middle Mongolian mara- 'salty earth,' Written Mongolian marayan 'earth,' Khalkha marz 'earth,' Kalmyk marā 'earth.' Proto-Tungus *mar- 'moor, marsh,' Evenki mar 'marsh.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $mor(\eta)ai$ 'sand,' modern Korean $mor\ddot{a}$ 'sand.' Cf. also modern Korean $m \ni n \check{c}i$ 'dust, mote' (MLC 613).

OLD JAPANESE mana-go 'sand.'

AINU mana; mana 'dust, dirt' (dialect 1, Hattori 104: 40).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi məlyəməl 'turf, sod.'

120. EAT₁ tamp

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $d\bar{a}p$ - ~ * $d\bar{a}p$ - ~ $d\bar{a}p$ -no- ~ $d\bar{a}p$ -ni- (this is a root extension of * $d\bar{a}$ -), *dap- (W), *t' aHp^h - (GI), Hittite tappala- 'person responsible for court cooking,' Latin daps 'sacrificial meal,' Tocharian A $t\bar{a}p$ 'ate,' Armenian tawn 'feast,' Old Norse tafn 'sacrificial animal, sacrificial meal.'

URALIC: Ugric: Vogul tāp 'food' (isolated within Uralic).

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ama 'to taste, munch,' Middle Mongolian tamsija-'taste, munch,' Written Mongolian tamsija- 'taste,' Khalkha tamšā- 'taste.' Proto-Tungus *tami- 'munch, swallow,' Evenki tam 'munch,' Nanai tami- 'swallow.'

MODERN KOREAN tamul- 'shut mouth.'

MODERN JAPANESE damar- 'be silent,' domor- 'stutter.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut taamu 'lick,' Proto-Eskimo *tamuʁ- 'chew,' Sirenik taməʁ-, Naukan tamuaʁ- 'chew,' Central Alaskan Yupik tamu- 'chew once,' tamua- 'chew repetitively,' North Alaskan Inuit tamuq- 'chew,' Greenlandic tamuʁ- 'chew, eat.'

• SM 197

121. EAT₂ inu

YUKAGHIR anin-.

GILYAK iń- ~ ńi-.

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *ńu, Chukchi nu, Koryak inu(-in) 'foodstuff,' Kamchadal no- (n.), nu- (v.), e.g. no(-nom) 'food.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut inu-χ 'piece of food,' inu-lix 'eat.'

122. EAT_3 ye

PROTO-ALTAIC *ǯē, Proto-Turkic *jē-, Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani je-, Turkmen ij-, Chuvash śi-, Yakut sie-. Middle Mongolian ǯa- ~ ǯe- 'meal, to be hungry,' Written Mongolian ǯoyog 'meal,' ǯemü- 'be hungry,' Khalkha ʒōg 'meal,' Kalmyk zōg 'meal,' zöm- 'be hungry.' Proto-Tungus *ǯe-p-, *ǯeb- (Tsintsius I: 279), Evenki ǯep- ~ ǯeb-, Negidal ǯev- ~ ǯep-, Manchu ǯe-. According to Starostin et al. (2002), the derived form with a labial suffix must have already existed in Proto-Altaic.

MIDDLE KOREAN č \bar{a} -si- \sim čaap-so-, modern Korean časi-.

OLD JAPANESE japa- 'hungry.'

AINU e; e (dialects 1–8, Hattori 95: 33), ee (dialect 9). It is possible that e derives from *je (cf. e \sim je 'matter, pus'). Ainu also has the variant i-pe 'food,' in which -pe is a nominalizer and the root shows the common $e \sim i$ alternation (see Volume 1: 37–39).

123. EDGE₁ pere

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *per- 'in front of, front part, through,' Old High German firi- 'before,' Greek perí 'around (all sides),' Sanskrit pári 'around, about.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *perä 'back part, space in back,' Finnish perä 'back part,' Estonian pära 'the last, back part,' Mord-vin piřä 'top, head,' Udmurt ber 'back part,' Komi-Zyrian ber 'back,' Ostyak pěrtäy 'back,' Vogul pär 'back.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'eri, Proto-Turkic *erneg, Turkmen erŋek. Middle Mongolian hir- 'blade, edge of knife,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha ir 'edge of knife,' irmeg 'edge, border,' Dagur xir 'blade, edge (of knife).' Proto-Tungus *pere 'bottom, floor,' Nanai pereg 'bottom,' Orok perey 'bottom,' Manchu fere 'bottom,' Evenki here 'bottom.'

OLD JAPANESE peri, modern Japanese heri 'edge, extremity.'

• IS 345

124. EDGE₂ teru

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ter-mṛ-, *ter-men- (W), ther-H- (GI) 'end, border, point,' Hittite tarma- 'stake,' Latin termen 'border,' Greek terma 'border, end, point,' Armenian tharm 'end.' Derived from *ter- ~ *tṛ- ~ *terə- 'cross over.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *terä 'cutting edge,' Finnish terä 'edge (of a knife),' Estonian tera 'edge (of a knife),' Saami dærre 'edge, side,' Cheremis ter 'edge (of a knife),' Udmurt tir ~ ter 'axe,' Hungarian tőr 'dagger, sword.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *t'erpo 'a big cutting instrument,' Proto-Turkic *törpi-gü 'file, rasp,' Old Turkic törpigü 'file,' Turkish törpü 'file,' Turkmen törpi 'file.' Middle Mongolian tarbagaj 'carpenter's axe.' Proto-Tungus *terin 'back of an axe,' Evenki terin 'back of an axe,' Even terən 'back of an axe.'
- OLD JAPANESE turugi 'sword,' modern Japanese tsurugi 'sword, blade' (perhaps a derivative of turu 'to hang'?).
 GILYAK t'yr 'edge.'

125. EDGE₃ kaci

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kaća 'end, point,' Saami gæčče 'end, point,' ?Hungarian hëgy 'point, mountain.'

Yukaghir kič, kičił 'end.'

- PROTO-ALTAIC *koše 'edge, protrusion,' Proto-Turkic *Kösri 'sides of the chest, wind-screen, bill,' Old Turkic küsri 'sides of the chest,' Chuvash kəsər-uk 'wind-screen, bill.' Middle Mongolian qoši'un 'beak, protrusion,' Written Mongolian qosiyu(n) 'beak,' Khalkha xošū 'beak,' Monguor cošə 'beak.' Cf. also Dagur keči 'edge.' Proto-Tungus *koša 'river bend, cape, angle,' Negidal kočo 'cape,' Manchu xošo 'cape,' Evenki kočo 'cape.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN $k \circ s$ ($< *k \circ \check{c}$), modern Korean $k \bar{a}$ (MLC 1). Cf. also Middle Korean $k i \circ i l k$ 'edge of a roof, protrusion,' modern Korean $k i \circ i l$ 'edge of a roof.'

OLD JAPANESE kisi 'shore, bank,' modern Japanese kishi 'shore.' AINU kes 'end'; kes 'end, edge, border' (Hattori 254: 72).

• SM 28

126. EGG₁ lik

AINU nok 'egg, testicle'; nok 'testicles' (all dialects, Hattori 15: 130). PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *lix-lix 'egg,' Chukchi, Koryak liyliy, Kamchadal lyilx, leyečx 'small egg, testicle.'

127. EGG₂ mun

?Indo-European: Old Church Slavic *modo 'testicle.'

PROTO-URALIC *muna 'egg, testicle,' Finnish, Estonian muna, Saami mânne, Mordvin mona 'testicle,' Cheremis muno, Ostyak mon 'testicle,' Vogul man 'testicle,' Hungarian (dial.) mony, Enets mona.

Proto-Altaic *mōnji 'round,' Proto-Turkic *bōn-čuk 'beads,' Old Turkic mōnčuq 'beads,' Turkish bonjuk 'necklace of pearls,' Turkmen mōnjuq 'beads.' Mongolian: Buriat mončagar 'round,' monsoi 'become round.' Proto-Turkic *munu-~*munubu-'round, oval, blunt, rounded,' Manchu mumuri 'round,' Evenki mumō 'round,' Even munuti 'round.'

MIDDLE KOREAN mūŋiri-tōr 'round, small round stone,' modern Korean muŋ 'ball, round' (MLC 684).

AINU mun 'drop of water, ball' (Patrie). Not found in Batchelor, Dobrotvorskij, or Hattori.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi manni.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *manniy, Sirenik manix, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik manik, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic mannik.

• Poppe 35, 84, IS 373, N 307, BK 549

128. ELBOW ken

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ĝenu- ~ *ĝneu-, *genu- (W), *k'enu- (GI) 'knee, corner, angle,' Hittite gēnu 'knee,' Latin genū 'knee,' Old Norse knē 'knee,' Gothic kniu 'knee,' Armenian cunr 'knee,' Tocharian B kenī(ne) 'knee.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kińä ~ *kinä, Finnish kyynärpää, Estonian küünarpea, Saami kar'ŋēl', Mordvin keńef 'forearm,' Cheremis kəńer-wuj, Udmurt gər-puŋ, Komi-Zyrian girźa, Ostyak könŋi, Hungarian könyök.

Proto-Altaic *keña 'elbow, angle,' Proto-Turkic *Kiajnat 'wing,

feather,' Old Turkic qanat 'wing,' Turkish kanat 'wing,' Azerbaijani canad 'wing,' Yakut kɨnat 'wing.' Proto-Tungus *küńče (Tsintsius I: 336), *kuńe- 'shin, stockings,' Even kēńeče 'shin,' Evenki keńete 'shin.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kane 'rule, gusset.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kanay 'shin,' Central Siberian Yupik, Alutiiq kanayaq 'shin,' Central Alaskan Yupik kanayaq 'leg, lower limb or part,' North Alaskan Inuit kanak 'inner leg (length from crotch to heel),' Greenlandic kanaaq 'shin.'

129. ENTER sunka

PROTO-URALIC *so η e- 'enter, go in,' Saami suogne-, Ostyak lă η a, Vogul $t\bar{o}$ - 'go in,' Old Hungarian av- 'take into,' Yurak $t'\bar{u}$ -, Enets t'u, Kamassian $\check{s}u$ -.

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma šogu- 'enter.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *sigu 'to insert,' Proto-Turkic *sig- 'enter, fit into,' Old Turkic, Turkish siy-, Turkmen sig-. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian siya- 'to beat in (a wedge, etc.),' Khalkha, Kalmyk šā- 'beat in,' Monguor šigā 'beat in.'

OLD JAPANESE suga- 'insert,' modern Japanese suge- 'insert.' GILYAK uski 'entrance hall.'

130. EXCREMENT₁ pal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $p\bar{u}$ - 'stink,' with -l root determinative in Germanic, e.g. English 'foul,' German faul.

YUKAGHIR pollo 'to defile.'

KOREAN pal (Ramstedt 1949: 185 gives ma-pal 'horse-dung'; ma is 'horse' in Chinese.).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *pəlu(s) 'dust, dirt,' Naukan pəlužaq 'dust, dirt,' Alutiiq pəlut 'ashes,' Central Alaskan Yupik pəluq 'ash,' Western Canadian Inuit pilu 'clod of soil.'

131. EXCREMENT₂ on

MIDDLE KOREAN $nu(\eta)$ - 'defecate,' modern Korean nu- 'defecate.'

GILYAK: West Sakhalin on(-ynč) 'to excrete' (Glehn).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *anaʁ(-) 'excrement; defecate,' Sire-

nik an
ə χ , Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic anaq.

132. EXTINGUISH₁ sun

Proto-Altaic *siūni 'extinguish, fade,' Proto-Turkic *sōn- 'fade,' Turkmen sōn- 'be extinguished,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani sön- 'be extinguished,' Chuvash, Tatar sün 'fade.' Middle Mongolian sunɔ- 'go out, be extinguished, fade, be ended,' Written Mongolian sönü-, Khalkha sönö-, Kalmyk sön-, Monguor sunō. Proto-Tungus *sī- ~ *sū-, Negidal sī-w-, Evenki sī- 'be extinguished' (Poppe 1960: 109).

OLD JAPANESE sin- 'die,' modern Japanese shinu 'die.'

GILYAK t'i 'shade.'

Chukotian: Southern Kamchadal *sunakik* 'hide, conceal' (Radliński).

133. EXTINGUISH₂ ku

?Proto-Indo-European *gh*en- 'strike, kill,' Hittite kuenzi 'strikes,' Sanskrit hánti- 'strikes,' Lithuanian genù 'drive cattle, hunt.'

?Korean kky 'extinguish' (MLC 233).

Japanese ki-e-ru 'go out (light),' Ryukyuan $\check{c}\bar{a}j$ -ung (intr.), $\check{c}\bar{a}$ -s-ung (tr.).

GILYAK k'u 'kill.'

134. EXTINGUISH₃ kupsa

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * g^wes - \sim *ges-, Hittite kist- 'go out,' Lithuanian $g\grave{e}sti$ 'go out,' Tocharian B kes 'go out.'

Proto-Uralic *kupsa- 'extinguish, be extinguished,' Estonian kustu- 'go out,' Livonian kist- 'put out, extinguish,' Saami kopse- 'put out, go out,' Udmurt kəs- 'go out, put out,' Komi-Zyrian kus- 'go out,' Yurak χαρτā 'go out,' Enets kota 'go out,' Tavgy kabtu, Selkup kapta- 'go out.'

PROTO-ALTAIC * $g \bar{u} \bar{u} p'a$ 'extinguish,' Proto-Turkic *K i p- 'spark, ashes,' Yakut k i b i a n 'spark.' Proto-Tungus * $g \bar{u} p$ - 'extinguish, be extinguished,' Nanai $g \bar{u} p$ -, Ulch $g \bar{u} p u$ -, Orok $g \bar{u} p u$ -.

- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qapak- 'be emaciated and weak,' North Alaskan Inuit qapak 'physically weak person,' Western Canadian Inuit qapak- 'be thin,' Greenlandic qapay- 'be emaciated.'
 - IS 335, N 185

135. EXTINGUISHED (BE) kam

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $kem(\vartheta)$ -, * $kem\vartheta$ - (W) 'become tired, exhausted,' Greek $k\acute{a}mn\bar{o}$ 'be tired,' Sanskrit $\acute{s}\acute{a}myati$ 'becomes tired, fatigues, ceases.'

PROTO-ALTAIC $*k\bar{a}mV$ 'be weak, oppress,' Proto-Turkic $*K\bar{A}ma$ - 'become blinded, dumb.' Proto-Tungus *kama- 'be at a loss, oppress, prohibit.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kam- 'be unable to, be insufficient for.'

JAPANESE kəma-r- 'be in a difficult position.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qamə- 'go out (of fire),' Central Siberian Yupik qaamə- 'go out (fire), be extinguished,' Naukan qamə- 'be extinguished,' Alutiiq qamə- 'go out (fire),' Central Alaskan Yupik qamə- 'die down (fire), disappear from sight,' North Alaskan Inuit qamɨ- 'go out,' Greenlandic qamiC- 'be extinguished'; Proto-Eskimo *qamət- 'extinguish,' Sirenik qamət- 'put out (fire),' Central Siberian Yupik, Naukan qamtə- 'put out fire,' Alutiiq qamtə- 'turn off (lamp),' Central Alaskan Yupik qamtə- 'turn down (stove),' North Alaskan Inuit qamɨt- 'put out fire,' Greenlandic qamit- 'put out fire.'

136. EYE ni ∼ nu

PROTO-ALTAIC * \acute{n} ia, Middle Mongolian nidun, Written Mongolian $nid\ddot{u}(n)$, Khalkha $n\ddot{u}d$, Kalmyk $n\ddot{u}dn$, Dagur nid(e), Monguor nudu. Proto-Tungus * $\acute{n}i\ddot{a}$ -sa (-sa is a plural suffix that has been incorporated into the root), Evenki \bar{e} sa, Manchu ja-sa, Nanai na-sal $\sim \acute{n}a$ -sal(a).

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean nun (MLC 359).

Japanese na-mida 'tear' (literally, 'eye-water'; cf. midu 'water'), Ryukyuan nū-ng 'see.' Cf. also Old Japanese me 'eye,' mi- 'see,' modern Japanese me 'eye,' mi 'see.'

GILYAK ńu- 'to look,' ńi-sax 'tear,' ńa-x 'eye.'

Chukotian: Chukchi lələ(-lyən), Koryak llə-lyən, Kamchadal lu'l (plural loŋ), Northern Kamchadal ele-d (-d is a plural marker), Southern Kamchadal nannin, Western Kamchadal lellal (Krasheninnikov).

137. FALL (v.) pol

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $ph\check{o}l$, *p(h)ol- (W) 'to fall,' Armenian p'ul, Lithuanian puolu, Old High German fallan. This is the only root reconstructed by Pokorny with ph-.

OLD JAPANESE puru 'fall, come down (of rain, snow, etc.),' modern Japanese furu.

AINU par 'flowers fall' (dialect 1, Hattori 198: 25).

GILYAK pol 'lose one's balence.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *palluʁ 'lie down on stomach,' Naukan paluχtɔ- 'lie face down,' Alutiiq paluʁ- 'lie on belly,' Western Canadian Inuit pallukaq- 'fall on face,' East Canadian Inuit pallu(q)- 'lower oneself to the ground, fall down,' Greenlandic pal-luʁ- 'lie down on stomach.'

• N 372, BK 53

138. FAR tui

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *deu- \sim *deu- \sim *deu- \sim *duā- \sim *dū- 'leave, go far away,' Hittite $t\bar{u}wa$ 'far, gone,' Sanskrit $d\bar{u}$ -ras 'far away,' Avestan $d\bar{u}r\bar{a}t$, Latin $d\bar{u}(-dum)$ 'some time ago, long ago.'

OLD JAPANESE topo, modern Japanese $t\bar{o}i$ 'distant,' Ryukyuan tu2u-sang.

AINU tui-ma 'far'; tue 'be far'; tui-no 'far' (adverb) (Dobrotvorskij). GILYAK t'y (ty would be expected) 'be distant.'

• BK 139

139. FAT₁ (n.) mai

URALIC: Finnish voi 'butter,' Saami vuojâ- 'fat, butter,' Mordvin vaj, Cheremis üj 'oil, butter,' Votyak võj 'butter, fat, oil,' Komi-Zyrian vyj 'butter, oil,' Vogul woj 'fat, butter, cream,' Ostyak woj 'fat, tallow, butter,' Hungarian vaj 'butter' (Collinder 1955: 138).

Proto-Altaic *majV, Proto-Turkic *bań, *maj ~ *baj (Räsänen 1969), Tatar maj, Turkmen māj. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian majaya 'butter, churn,' Khalkha majā 'butter.' Proto-Tungus *majā 'food rests, food store,' Evenki majā 'food rests,' Even māja 'food store.'

Korean mä 'oil.'

GILYAX mox 'bacon, tallow' (Glehn).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *miŋuy 'smear,' Alutiiq miŋuy- 'rub, paint, smear,' Central Alaskan Yupik miŋuy- 'smear, paint,' miŋuk 'paint, ointment, butter,' North Alaskan Inuit miŋuk- 'color, mark, smear,' Greenlandic miŋuttuq 'blubber.'

140. FAT₂ (n.) kili

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jaíme, Proto-Turkic *Kiaíi 'inner fat,' *karyn (Räsänen 1969) 'belly,' Old Turkic qazi 'belly fat of men or horses,' Yakut qaha, Chuvash jor. Middle Mongolian yarbi-su 'placenta,' Written Mongolian qarbin 'inner fat,' Khalkha xarvin 'inner fat,' Kalmyk xärwn 'inner fat.' Tungus: Evenki kalbıŋ 'paunch below the chest' (borrowing from Mongolian).

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kilim 'fat, grease' (MLC 265).

AINU kiri-us-te 'to fatten,' kiri 'marrow,' kiri-pu 'fat'; kirpu (dialects 1-3, 8), kiripu (dialect 9, Hattori 93: 10); kir 'marrow' (dialects 1-7, Hattori 20: 168); kiripo (Moshiogusa).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal qeltq 'belly.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut: Bering kilmax 'stomach, belly (human).'

141. FATHER₁ ece

Proto-Uralic *äćä, Saami ačče, Ostyak äśi, Vogul āćī, Yurak nāće? (vocative), Enets ača?.

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma ečie, Chuvan ete, Omok eze-m 'my father.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ač'V 'ancestor, mother,' Proto-Turkic *eččV ~ *aččV 'elder relative, ancestor,' Old Turkic eči 'uncle, older brother,' Turkish (dial.) eže 'old man,' Tatar (dial.) äzi 'father, elder man,' Chuvash aźa 'father, male,' Yakut ehe 'grandfather.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian ečige, Khalkha eceg, Kalmyk ecəga. Proto-Tungus *(x)ači 'father, ancestor,' Evenki ači 'ancestor.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ezi (Ramsey).

AINU acha 'uncle, father'; achapo (dialect 1), acha (dialect 8), aacha (dialect 9, Hattori 34: 12). -po is a diminutive suffix.

GILYAK: Eastern Sakhalin yz-ŋ.

CHUKOTIAN: Western Kamchadal isx.

142. FATHER₂ apa

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pap(p)a, Palaic paapaš, Greek $p\acute{a}ppa$, Latin $p\bar{a}pa$.

PROTO-ALTAIC *āp'a, Proto-Turkic *āpa, Old Turkic apa, Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani aba. Middle Mongolian abaya 'father, paternal uncle,' Written Mongolian aba, Khalkha av, Kalmyk āwə, Monguor āba. Proto-Tungus *apa 'grandfather, uncle,' Negidal apa 'uncle.'

MIDDLE KOREAN api, modern Korean abəği.

GILYAK apa 'father-in-law.'

Chukotian: Koryak appa, Northern Kamchadal apač (Krasheninnikov, Radliński), Southern Kamchadal apač (Radliński).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ap(p)a 'grandfather,' Sirenik apa 'grandfather,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik apa 'grandfather,' North Alaskan Inuit aapa 'father,' Western Canadian Inuit aappak 'father.'

143. FEAR₁ alika

URALIC: Finnish arka 'be afraid.' GILYAK layo, East Sakhalin layu.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ajəlgo.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *alikə- 'be afraid of,' Alutiiq alikə- 'be afraid of,' Central Siberian Yupik alikə- 'be afraid of,' Central Alaskan Yupik alikə- 'be afraid of,' Greenlandic aliyi- 'consider big.' Cf. also Proto-Yupik *aliŋə 'be afraid,' Sirenik aliŋuʁ- 'defend oneself,' Alutiiq aliŋə- 'be afraid,' Central Siberian Yupik aliŋə- 'be afraid.'

144. FEAR₂ pel

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pel-em-, Greek pelemizō 'I shake, cause

to tremble,' Gothic us-filma 'frightened.'

PROTO-URALIC *pele 'frighten, fear, be afraid,' Finnish pelkää'frighten, be afraid,' Estonian pelga- 'frighten, be afraid,' Saami
bâllâ-, Mordvin pel'e, Udmurt pulj- 'fear, be afraid,' Komi-Zyrian
pol-, Ostyak pĕl- 'fear (n.),' Vogul pil'-, Hungarian fél-, Yurak
pīl'ū- 'be afraid,' Tavgy filiti- 'be afraid.'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Middle Turkish $p\bar{a}l$. Cf. also Proto-Altaic *bele 'panic, hysterics,' Proto-Turkic *bEliŋ 'panic, terror,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Turkmen beliŋ. Middle Mongolian belbisun 'mourning, widow,' Written Mongolian belbüsü 'mourning,' Dagur belbisen 'mourning.' Proto-Tungus *beli(n) 'hysterics, silly,' Negidal, Evenki belin 'hysterics,' Manchu beli 'silly.'

JAPANESE hirumu 'fear, waver, lose heart.'

 \bullet IS 331, N 337, BK 64. Note the similar -m extension in Indo-European and Japanese.

145. FEATHER₁ tul

PROTO-URALIC *tulka 'feather, wing,' Saami tolke, Finnish sulka, Mordvin tolga, Udmurt tili, Komi-Zyrian til, Ostyak töyəl 'wing, feather,' Vogul tōl 'wing,' Hungarian toll, Yurak to, Enets tua 'wing,' Selkup tu 'wing.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *dālo 'wing, shoulderblade,' Proto-Turkic *jāl 'scruff, counter,' Old Turkic jal 'scruff,' Turkmen jāl 'scruff,' Yakut sāl 'scruff.' Middle Mongolian daļu 'shoulderblade,' Written Mongolian daļi 'wing,' Khalkha daļ 'wing,' Dagur daļ 'shoulderblade.'

MIDDLE KOREAN thəli 'feather, hair,' modern Korean thəl 'hair, feather' (MLC 1702).

AINU tru 'hair' (Dobrotvorskij).

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak tiltil 'feather, wing.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut sulux ~ sulγi-χ 'noise of running water, thunder, echo,' Proto-Eskimo *culuγ 'wing, feather,' Sirenik siləx 'feather,' Alutiiq culuk 'feather,' Central Alaskan Yupik culuk 'quill, dorsal fin,' culuγγi 'whistle (wind),' North Alaskan Inuit suluk 'wing feather,' Greenlandic suluk 'wing, wing feather.'

 \bullet With the Eskimo forms compare the deviant Finnish form in s-, sulka.

146. FEATHER₂ puna

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *puna 'hair,' Finnish puna 'red(ness), blood,' Estonian puna 'red,' Mordvin pona 'hair, wool,' Cheremis pun 'hair, feather,' Ostyak pun 'hair,' Vogul pun 'feather, hair,' Hungarian (dial.) fan ~ fon 'pubic hair.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'uńe 'hair, feather,' Middle Mongolian xiusun 'hair,' Written Mongolian üsü 'hair,' Khalkha üs(en) 'hair,' Dagur xusu 'hair,' Monguor fuzə 'hair.' Proto-Tungus *puńe- 'hair,' Manchu fuńexe 'hair,' Ju-chen funirxie 'hair.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pinil 'fish scales' (MLC 850).

OLD JAPANESE pane, modern Japanese hane, Ryukyuan hani.

• IS 335, N 366

147. FEW ter

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ter(u)- 'tender, weak,' Latin tener (< *teren) 'delicate,' Sanskrit táruṇa- 'young, delicate,' Greek térus 'delicate, weak.' Supposedly a derivative of *ter- 'rub.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *tīāre 'narrow, short,' Proto-Turkic *d(i)ār 'narrow,' Old Turkic tar 'narrow,' Turkish, Azerbaijani dar 'narrow,' Yakut tār 'narrow,' Turkmen dār 'narrow.' Proto-Tungus * \check{z} ir- 'close, near, dense, without intervals,' Manchu \check{z} ira 'dense, without intervals,' Nanai, Ulch \check{z} i \check{z} a (< * \check{z} ir-g-) 'close, near.'

MIDDLE KOREAN *tjəla-* 'short,' modern Korean *čalp-* 'short.' GILYAK *toru* 'hardly, almost.'

GILYAK toru nardiy, amost.

CIIUKOTIAN: Chukchi t'er 'how much,' t'erkin 'few, some.'

• BK 96

148. FIELD pat

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pet- 'spread out,' *petə- (W) 'to spread,' Latin patēre 'be open, extend, reach to,' pandere 'spread out,' Greek petánnūmi 'spread out.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'at'a 'field, uncultivated land,' Proto-Turkic *atif' 'watered field, boundary,' Old Turkic, Turkmen atiz 'a piece of land to be irrigated.' Middle Mongolian *(h)atar 'uncultivated land,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha atar 'uncultivated land.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pat(h), modern Korean path 'a (dry) field, piece of ground' (MLC 741), patak (< Middle Korean patan) 'ground',

patak 'bottom, floor, area' (MLC 703).

OLD JAPANESE pata, modern Japanese hata '(dry) field, farm.'

• SM 79, IS 372, MR 41, BK 38

149. FIGHT mak

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *magh- (only in Greek makh-esthai).

PROTO-ALTAIC *mek'a 'be in a bad position,' Middle Mongolian mak- 'torture, strive, be diligent,' Khalkha maxra- 'strive, be diligent,' maxla- 'torture (v.).' Proto-Tungus *mek- 'be beaten,' Manchu mekere- 'be beaten.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean mak- 'block, obstruct, hold off, defend against.'

OLD JAPANESE maka- 'to lose (a game, etc.),' modern Japanese make-ru 'be defeated,' maka-su 'to defeat.'

AINU mak.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *mak(k)utə- 'manage, overcome,' Alutiiq makəxtə- 'outdo, beat, get the best of,' Eastern Canadian Inuit makkut(i)- 'be stronger than someone else,' Greenlandic makut(i)- 'look down on, overrule, manage.'

• SM 15

150. FINGER tik

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *deik-, *deik- (W), *t'eikh- (GI) 'point out, show,' Latin dig-itus 'finger, toe,' Greek (Ionic) dek- 'point out,' Hittite tekuššami 'point out, indicate,' Old High German zīhan 'accuse,' zeigōn 'show.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ēk'i 'solitary, separate,' Proto-Turkic *tēk 'only, solitary, odd,' Old Turkic tek 'only,' Chuvash tek 'only, just,' Turkish tek 'only, sole, odd (number),' teken 'one by one,' Chagatai täk 'only, alone.' Middle Mongolian čig 'separately,' Written Mongolian čig 'separately,' Khalkha čig 'separately.'

KOREAN (t)tayki 'one, thing,' teki 'one, guy, thing' (MLC 422), Old Korean tēk 'ten.'

JAPANESE te 'hand.'

AINU tek(e) 'hand,' atiki 'five' (Dobrotvorskij).

GILYAK řak 'once,' Southeast Gilyak toqn 'finger tip.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal itəgin 'foot, paw.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut: Atka tikla- χ 'middle finger,' Proto-Eskimo * $t \ni k \ni k$ 'index finger,' Sirenik $t \ni k \ni q$ 'index finger, thimble,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik $t \ni k \ni q$ 'index finger,' North Alaskan Inuit $tik \nmid k$ 'index finger,' Greenlandic tikiq 'index finger.'

• Räsänen 1969, BR 23

151. FIRE₁ kum

ALTAIC: Turkic: Yakut *ky:m* 'spark,' Oirat, Teleut *kym(-yn)* 'spark.' CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal *ximlx*.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *əkuma- 'be burning,' Sirenik kuməŋə- 'burn,' kuməʁ- 'blaze up,' Alutiiq kumaq 'light (e.g. a lamp),'
Central Alaskan Yupik kuma- 'be lit,' Naukan əkuma- 'burn,'
North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic ikuma- 'be burning,' ikuma
'fire' (a shaman's word).

152. FIRE₂ tul

PROTO-URALIC *tule, Finnish, Estonian tuli, Saami toll, Mordvin tol, Cheremis tul, Udmurt til, Yurak, Enets $t\bar{u}$, Tavgy tui.

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ulV 'burn,' Middle Mongolian tulæ- 'burn,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha tüle- 'burn,' Kalmyk tül- 'burn,' Dagur tule- 'burn,' Monguor tulē- 'burn.' Proto-Tungus *tola- 'to kindle (a torch),' Manchu tolo- 'kindle.'

AINU čire (< *tire) 'burn, cook, overcook.'

GILYAK t 'ol-f 'summer.'

Chukotian: Chukchi təlv(ək), təlvətəl 'a fire,' Koryak thil 'be warm' (Bogoras 1917).

• IS 352, N 71, BK 97

153. FIRE₃ par

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $peu\bar{o}r \sim *p\bar{u}r$, *paəwr (W), Greek $p\hat{u}r$, Hittite pahhur, Tocharian A por, Tocharian B puwar, Umbrian pir, Old English $f\bar{y}r$, Armenian hur, English fire.

Yukaghir: Kolyma par 'cook.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ore 'fire, burn,' Proto-Turkic *ört 'flame, burn,' Old Turkic, Yakut ört 'steppe fire,' Tatar ürt, Turkmen örte- 'get burnt,' Chuvash virt 'steppe fire.' Middle Mongolian (h)örde-

'burn, flame up,' Written Mongolian örde- 'burn,' Khalkha ördö- 'burn,' Kalmyk ördə- 'burn.' Proto-Tungus *puri- \sim *piri 'to dry (over fire),' Manchu faringa- 'dry,' Evenki huri- 'dry.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pil, modern Korean pul (MLC 832).

OLD JAPANESE pi, modern Japanese hi.

AINU ape parse ~ ape parparse 'fire burns' (dialects 1 and 3, Hattori 105: 56), parase 'burn.'

GILYAK paru- 'burst into flames.'

• SM 82

154. FIRE₄ t'a

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *āt(e)r-, *āter- (W), Avestan ātarš, Armenian ayrem, Old Irish āith 'furnace.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ōt'a ~ *ōta 'fire, hot, warm,' Proto-Turkic *ōt 'fire,' Old Turkic, Turkish (archaic) ot, Tatar ut, Azerbaijani od, Turkmen ōt, Chuvash vot, Yakut uot. Middle Mongolian (h)očki-n 'spark,' Written Mongolian oči(n) 'spark,' Khalkha oč 'spark,' Kalmyk očn 'spark,' Monguor śźun 'spark.' Proto-Tungus *utinŋe 'wood fire,' Evenki utinŋe 'wood fire,' Even utöŋŋö 'wood fire.'

MODERN KOREAN t'a 'burns, blazes, gets scorched, burned' (MLC 1684). Cf. also Middle Korean ta-sa- 'hot, warm,' modern Korean tatit-ha- 'hot.'

OLD JAPANESE atu- 'hot,' modern Japanese atsu- 'hot.' GILYAK t'a (intr.).

• IS 352, N 343, MR 47

155. FIRST pir

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *per-(w-), *ph(E)r-H- (GI), Hittite piran 'in front of,' Albanian parë, Sanskrit pūrva 'former,' Lithuanian pìr-mas, Old Church Slavic prĭvŭ, Tocharian A pärwat, Old Persian paruviya 'prior, first,' English first, before.

PROTO-ALTAIC *biuri 'one,' Proto-Turkic *bir \sim *bīr 'one, Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen bir 'one,' Yakut bīr 'one,' Chuvash pĕrre 'one.' Middle Mongolian buri 'each, all,' Written Mongolian büri 'each,' Khalkha bür 'each,' Monguor bu(r) 'each.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pīlis(o) 'at first, begin,' modern Korean pilos hata 'begin' (MLC 852).

OLD JAPANESE pito 'one,' modern Japanese hitotsu 'one.'

?GILYAK p'or 'in the beginning.' Gilyak aspirates generally correspond to Indo-European voiced aspirates.

• BK 41

156. FISH₁ kal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*(s)k^w$ alo-s, $*(s)k^w$ al-o- (W) 'a large kind of fish,' Latin squal-us 'large sea fish,' Old Icelandic hvalr 'whale,' Old Prussian kalis 'sheat fish,' Old English hwæl 'whale,' Old High German hwal 'whale.'

PROTO-URALIC *kala 'fish,' Finnish, Estonian kala, Saami kuollē, Mordvin kal, Cheremis kol, Ostyak kul, Vogul kōl, Hungarian hal, Proto-Samoyed *kålä, Enets kare, Tavgy kólį, Selkup qelį, Koibal kola, Karagas kalè.

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jalu 'whale, big fish,' Middle Mongolian kalimu 'whale,' Written Mongolian qalimu 'whale,' Khalkha xalim 'whale.' Proto-Tungus *xol-sa 'fish,' Nanai, Ulch, Orok xolto 'boiled fish,' Negidal olo, Evenki ollo. Cf. also Proto-Altaic *kalu 'a kind of fish,' Middle Mongolian kul- 'salmon,' Written Mongolian quldu 'salmon,' Khalkha xuld 'salmon.' Proto-Tungus *kali 'crustacian, white-fish,' Evenki kali 'crustacian,' kulala 'sheat fish.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kolai 'whale.'

OLD JAPANESE kudira 'whale,' modern Japanese kujira 'whale.'

GILYAK q'ol 'a kind of fish,' q'alm 'a small whale.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal klxin.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *iqa4uy 'fish (especially salmon),' Sirenik iqə4əx, Alutiiq iqa4uk, Central Alaskan Yupik iqa4uk 'dog salmon,' North Alaskan Inuit iqaluk, Greenlandic iqaluk 'char, sea trout.'

• IS 362, N 155, BK 330

157. FISH₂ ani

Yukaghir: Kolyma anil.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ənnə(-ən), Koryak ənn-, Aliutor ənnə(?ən),

Kamchadal inč.

158. FLAME nulu

PROTO-ALTAIC *nole 'to burn, flame,' Proto-Turkic *jula 'light, torch,' Old Turkic jula 'light, torch.' Middle Mongolian, Khalkha nöl-, Written Mongolian nöle, Kalmyk nülə. Proto-Tungus *nul- 'to kindle,' Negidal nul- 'kindle,' Nanai ńulku- 'stir coals,' Evenki nul 'light a fire,' Lamut nulul 'blaze.'

MIDDLE KOREAN *nuli*- 'to have a burnt smell,' modern Korean *nulli(-ta)* 'scorches, burns, singes.'

OLD JAPANESE norosi 'bonfire, flame,' modern Japanese noroshi 'signal fire.'

AINU nui; nuy (dialect 1, Hattori 106: 65).

• SM 187, 188

159. FLAT₁ lap

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $l\bar{e}p \sim *l\bar{o}p \sim *lep$ -, *lep- (W) 'be flat, palm, sole, shoulder blade,' Old Norse $l\bar{o}fi$ 'palm,' Old High German laffa 'palm,' Lithuanian lópa 'paw,' Russian lápa 'paw.'

PROTO-URALIC *lapta 'flat,' Finnish latakka, Estonian latak, Cheremis lapte, Yurak lapta 'low-lying and flat,' Enets lota 'level place.'

Proto-Altaic *lap'i 'flat, broad,' Proto-Turkic *jap- 'flat, level,' Old Turkic japur-, Azerbaijani japiy. Middle Mongolian labta- 'to be flat, level, down,' Written Mongolian nabta-, Khalkha navtgar, Dagur lartagar. Proto-Tungus *lapta- 'flat, level,' Evenki lapta- ~ napta- 'flat,' lāpčā 'fish fins.'

MIDDLE KOREAN nap- 'level, wide,' modern Korean nap-čak 'level, wide.'

OLD JAPANESE *nipa* 'courtyard,' modern Japanese *niwa* 'courtyard.' CHUKOTIAN: Koryak -nm- 'lie flatly.'

 \bullet Poppe 159, IS 355, N 256

160. $FLAT_2$ kap

ALTAIC: Mongolian kaptagai 'skin or board,' kapta(-sun) 'board.' Tungus: Evenki kapta-ma 'flat, broad,' Manchu kaparabu- 'to

tap with heels,' Oroch kaptavi 'board.'

AINU kap-ke (Patrie); kapke (dialect 3), kapar (dialects 1–8), kapara (dialect 9; Hattori 270: 110) 'be thin or flat'.

Chukotian: Koryak kavənə 'flatness,' (na-)qaw(-qin) 'flat' (Poppe 43, 88).

161. FLESH mim

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mēmso-, *mēms- (W), *mēms-o- (GI) 'meat,' Gothic mimz 'meat,' Old Prussian mensā 'meat,' Old Church Slavic meso 'meat,' Albanian mish 'meat,' Armenian mis 'meat,' Sanskrit māmsá- 'meat,' Tocharian B mīsa 'meat.'

Proto-Uralic (Illich-Svitych) *omśa 'meat,' Proto-Samoyed (Illich-Svitych) *amsa 'meat,' Yurak ŋamsă 'meat,' Tavgy ŋamsu 'meat.'

ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus *mim-be 'himself/herself.'

KOREAN mom 'flesh, fruit, body, person' (MLC 645).

OLD JAPANESE mi 'body, flesh, fruit,' modern Japanese mi 'flesh, fruit.'

AINU mim; mím 'flesh of fish' (dialects 1-5, 9, Hattori 93: 13).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *miməʁ 'haunch or hindquarter,' Central Alaskan Yupik miməq 'thigh of bird or mammal,' East Canadian Inuit mimiq 'thigh, ham.'

• SM 19, IS 350, N 114

162. FLY₁ (n.) čuri

URALIC: Saami čuruk, Vogul seri-wari 'fly-below (in meat and fish),' Kamassian šurijar, Motor kuriar (Collinder 1955: 9).

Proto-Altaic *siajri 'louse, nit,' Proto-Turkic *sirkä 'nit,' Old Turkic, Azerbaijani sirkä 'nit,' Turkish, Turkmen sirke 'nit,' Tatar sirkä 'nit,' Chavash šarga 'nit.' Middle Mongolian sirke 'louse (of animals),' Written Mongolian sirke 'louse,' Khalkha širx 'louse,' Kalmyk širkə 'louse.' Proto-Tungus *sire 'louse, worm,' Evenki sirikte 'helminth,' Ulch silma 'louse.'

Old Japanese shirami 'louse,' modern Japanese shirami 'louse.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut čuliix 'moth, weevil' (Bergsland), culiq 'mosquito, gnat,' culigin (plural) 'moths' (Geoghegan).

• IS 336

163. FLY₂ (n.) mus

Proto-Indo-European *mus- ~ *mŭ- 'fly, gnat, mosquito,' Latin musca, Old Prussian muso, Latvian muša, Old Church Slavic mŭšĭca 'gnat, midge,' Old High German mucka 'gnat, midge, mosquito,' Albanian mizë.

?URALIC munč3 'ant' (Collinder 1960); not in Rédei.

OLD JAPANESE musi 'insect, bug, worm,' modern Japanese mushi 'insect, worm, caterpillar, cricket'

AINU mose 'nettle,' mus 'fly'; mos (dialects 1, 2, 4–7), mus (dialect 3), mossi 'fly' (dialect 8), too-mus 'pond-fly' (dialect 9; Hattori 152: 105).

• MR 30

164. FLY (v.) par

Indo-European *por-no 'wing, feather,' Old Church Slavic pero 'to fly,' pero 'feather,' Avestan parəna 'feather, wing,' Sanskrit par-na 'feather.'

?Proto-Uralic *parV (Illich-Svitych), Ugric: Ostyak $por \sim pur$. Yukaghir perie 'feathers,' perienze 'feathered,' perien' have wings.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ore 'feather, wing,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian örbelge 'feather,' Khalkha örvölgö 'feather.' Proto-Tungus *purakī 'wing, feather,' Evenki hurakī 'wing, feather,' Even huriqi 'wing bone.' Cf. also Evenki hār 'soar.'

OLD JAPANESE poro 'falcon's wings, under wing feathers of a bird.' GILYAK parpar 'hover, fly about.'

• IS 346, BR 19, BK 47. Cf. No. 34, BEE/FLY per ~ pal.

165. FOG kuri

ALTAIC: Turkic: Middle Turkish kyrayu 'hoar frost,' Yakut kyrya 'hoar frost.'

MODERN KOREAN hili- 'be cloudy.'

OLD JAPANESE kiri fog, mist, haze,' Ryukyuan čiri 'fog.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi qeliqel 'cloud.'

• SM 85

166. FOOT₁ pad \sim pat

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pĕd ~ *pŏd, *ped- (W), *pʰet'- (GI) 'foot,' Hittite pata-, Latin pēs, Old English fōt, Gothic fōtus, Lithuanian pādas 'sole of foot,' Russian pod 'ground,' Avestan pad, Tocharian A pe.

URALIC: Ziryan pod 'foot, sole,' Ostyak petta 'sole.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *padak (Illich-Svitych) 'foot, leg,' Proto-Turkic *adak, Old Turkic atak 'foot, leg,' Turkish, Tatar ajak, Yakut ataq, Chuvash ora. Middle Mongolian (h)adag 'end, lower course of a river,' Written Mongolian aday 'end, lower course of a river,' Khalkha adəg 'lower course of a river.' Proto-Tungus *pagdi(-kī) 'sole of the foot,' Manchu fatxa (< padakai) 'paw' (Poppe 32, 110, 124), Evenki hagdiki 'sole of the foot.' Cf. also Proto-Tungus *pata(ka) 'feet pads, sole, bottom, paw,' Nanai pata 'paw, hoof,' Negidal xata 'feet pads,' Manchu fatan 'paw, bottom,' Orok patta 'butt (of a tree).'

MIDDLE KOREAN patok 'floor, sole of foot,' modern Korean patak 'bottom, ground' (MLC 703).

OLD JAPANESE fitume 'hoof,' modern Japanese hizume 'hoof.'

Сникотіам: Koryak apt- 'kick.'

• IS 368, MR 40, BK 44

167. FOOT₂ kit

GILYAK nytx.

Chukotian: Koryak $y \ni tkal \eta \ni n$, Kamchadal $qt \chi a \eta$ (plural $qt \chi i ?n$) (Volodin), $qt xa \sim qt qa$ (Worth).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut kita- χ , Proto-Eskimo *kit-miy 'heel,' Sirenik kityəx 'heel,' Alutiiq kityiq 'heel,' Central Alaskan Yupik kityik 'heel,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic kimmik 'heel.'

168. FREEZE $kul \sim kel$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $gel(\vartheta)$ -, *gel- (W) 'cold, freeze,' Latin $gel\bar{u}$ 'cold, frost,' Old Norse kala 'get cold,' Gothic kalds 'cold.' Cf. also *kel- 'freeze, cold,' * $ghel\vartheta d$ 'ice.' Such variation is common in Indo-European etymology.

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Permic (Redéi and Erdélyi) *külmä 'cold,' Finnish kylmä 'cold.'

- Proto-Altaic *kiule ~ *k'iule, Proto-Turkic *Köl-, Tatar küšek, Yakut köhüj-. Middle Mongolian köl-de-, Written Mongolian kölde-, Khalkha xöldö-, Dagur kulde.
- MIDDLE KOREAN $k\bar{\partial}l$ 'freeze, congeal,' modern Korean $k\bar{\partial}l$ 'to thicken, be thick.'
- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *xil-xil 'ice,' Chukchi yilyil 'block of ice, iceberg,' yəl 'hot.'
 - IS 371, N 176, BK 287

169. FRIEND₁ tom

- ALTAIC: Turkic: Sojon tomāry 'make peace' (borrowing from Kalmyk). Mongolian: Kalmyk toma-yara 'come to an agreement,' toma-yan 'reliable, trustworthy.'
- OLD JAPANESE tomo 'friend, companion,' modern Japanese tomo-ni 'along with,' tomodati (source of the plural suffix -domo).
- AINU tum-ta 'in, among' (-ta [locative]).
- GILYAK tom-sk 'along with,' tum 'be near speaker.' -sk \sim -ks is a collective suffix (Panfilov 1962–65, I: 102–3).
- Chukotian: Chukchi tumyeu 'become friendly' (Bogoras 1922), tumyin, Koryak tumyətum, Aliutor tumy, Kamchadal səllatumx 'brother in relation to brother, sister in relation to sister,' tmalk 'near,' Northeastern Kamchadal čix-tumx 'sister' (Radliński).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Yupik: Kuskokwim tumaq 'together with, jointly' (Hinz 1944), Inuit (Bering) tuma 'accompanied by' (Menovshchikov 1980: 63).

170. FRIEND₂ ila

Yukaghir: Tundra -alā 'near,' Kolyma -al' 'near.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ēlV 'peace, relatives,' Turkic: Turkish ile 'with,' Yakut il 'friendship.' Mongolian el 'peace, harmony, ally.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ila-χ 'part (of), relative, kinsman, friend,' ilali- 'make friends,' Proto-Eskimo *ila(-) 'part; add,' Sirenik, Naukan ila 'friend,' Alutiiq ila 'part, relative,' Central Alaskan Yupik ila 'part (of), relative, associate,' North Alaskan Inuit il^ya 'part (of), relative, companion,' Greenlandic ila 'part (of), relative, companion,' *ilali(C)us- 'make or be friends,' Central

Siberian Yupik ilaliis- 'make friends.'

171. FRONT eti

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *eti 'above, beyond, further, also,' Gaulish eti 'also, further,' Latin et 'and also,' Old High German it(a), Phrygian eti- 'again,' Sanskrit áti 'over, towards.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *e\delta e 'space in front, front one,' Finnish esi 'front,' Estonian esi 'place or time before,' Ostyak ilə 'forward,' Vogul il 'forward,' Hungarian el\delta 'front.'

ALTAIC: Mongolian: Baoan ete 'formerly.' Tungus: Even *iti* 'face.' GILYAK *yty* 'forward.'

Chukotian: Chukchi ətt?əjol 'forward, formerly, earlier,' ?ətt?ət-lan 'the former.'

172. FULL pal

Proto-Indo-European *pel-, *pel- (W), *phelh- (GI) 'to fill; much, plenitude,' Sanskrit purú 'much,' Greek polús 'much,' Gothic filu 'much, very.'

PROTO-URALIC *paljs 'thick, much,' Finnish paljo 'much,' Cheremis pülä 'rather a lot,' Vogul pāl' 'thick,' Yurak pal? 'thick,' Enets fod'e-ma 'thick.'

YUKAGHIR: Tundra pojuon 'many.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ulE 'surplus; to be left,' Proto-Turkic *üle- 'surplus.' Proto-Mongolian *hüle 'surplus,' Mongolian ülegü ~ ilegü 'excessive, additional, excellent.' Proto-Tungus *pule- 'surplus,' Manchu fulu 'excess,' Gold pulo 'excess' (Poppe 111).

MIDDLE KOREAN pulo-'be full, inflated,' modern Korean pɨlɨ- 'stomach is full' (MLC 813).

OLD JAPANESE abur-u 'be in excess, overflow,' modern Japanese afure-ru 'be in excess, overflow.'

GILYAK pil- 'be large.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal $pla\chi$ (< $pol[-la\chi]$) 'large' (Volodin).

• SM 233, IS 348, BK 54

173. GALL pis

Proto-Indo-European *bis-(t)lis, Latin bīlis, Welsh bust.

PROTO-URALIC *piša 'gall, green, yellow,' Mordvin piža 'green,' Yurak pad'e, Enets fóde?, Selkup păts, Kamassian pada.

PROTO-ALTAIC *busi 'kidney,' Proto-Tungus *bosokto 'kidney,' Nanai, Ulch, Orok bosoqto 'kidney,' Manchu bosχo 'kidney,' Negidal boxokto 'kidney.'

MIDDLE KOREAN psilkəi 'liver,' psi- 'bitter.' ?OLD JAPANESE pisipo 'salted meat or fish.' AINU pise 'bladder.'

• MR 4

174. GIVE₁ to

Proto-Indo-European *dō- ~ *dɔ-, with a number of common root determinatives, especially *-n- and *-r-, Hittite dā- 'take,' Greek dōr-on 'present,' didō-mi 'I give,' Sanskrit dádā-mi 'I give,' Old Church Slavic danŭ 'fee, donation,' darŭ 'gift,' Russian dadi-m 'we give,' Latin dō 'I give,' dedī 'I gave,' dōnum 'gift.'

ETRUSCAN tur.

Proto-Uralic *toye- 'give, bring, fetch,' Finnish tuo 'fetch, bring,' Estonian too- 'fetch, bring,' Saami duokə- 'sell,' Mordvin tuje- 'bring, fetch,' Ostyak tu- 'fetch, bring,' Vogul tōl- 'fetch, bring,' ?Hungarian toj- 'lay eggs,' Proto-Samoyed *tə- ~ *tə-tå-, Yurak (Tundra) taš 'give, bring,' Enets ta- 'bring, fetch,' Tavgy tətud'a 'give, bring,' Selkup tattiqo 'give, bring.'

YUKAGHIR: Tundra, Kolyma tadi- 'give, sell.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ebV 'put,' Middle Mongolian te'e 'transport, load (on a carriage),' Written Mongolian tegege- 'transport,' Khalkha, Kalmyk, Dagur, Monguor tē- 'transport.' Proto-Tungus *teb- 'put, place,' Manchu tebu 'put,' Negidal tew(u)- 'put,' Evenki, Even tew- 'put,' Nanai, Orok teu- 'put.'

KOREAN tuli-ta 'presents, gives to superior' (MLC 528). Cf. also Middle Korean tu- 'put, place.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal ti 'bring, take' (Worth), te(-ka-s) 'bring in' (Volodin), Palana Koryak tet-ək (Zhukova 1980: 239), Aliutor tatək 'arrive, bring.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *tunə-, Sirenik, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik tunə-, North Alaskan Inuit tuni- 'sell, be sold,'

Western Canadian Inuit tuni- 'give, sell,' Greenlandic tuni- 'give something to, sell.'

• IS 338, BK 121. Note the widespread reduplicated form (see Volume 1: 236–37) and the extensions in -n (Latin dōnum 'gift,' Old Church Slavic danŭ 'fee, donation') and -r (Greek dōron 'gift,' Old Church Slavic darŭ 'gift,' Etruscan tur).

175. GIVE₂ ake

Yukaghir $k\bar{\imath} \sim kei$.

PROTO-ALTAIC *ak'o ~ *ako 'trade,' Proto-Turkic *ok 'share (of inheritance), pledge,' Old Turkic aky 'generous,' Baraba ayū 'generous' (Räsänen 13). Middle Mongolian (h)ag-su- 'borrowing or lending money at interest, loan,' Written Mongolian aysun 'loan,' Khalkha agsan 'loan.'

OLD JAPANESE akinapu 'deal, exchange, sell,' modern Japanese akinai 'trade, business.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut aki- 'pay, buy,' aki\(\chi\) 'payment,' Proto-Eskimo *aki(-) '(thing) opposite, answer,' Sirenik akisa\(\chi\) 'trade,' Central Alaskan Yupik aki 'value, price,' Naukan aki 'value, price, something to exchange,' Greenlandic aki 'price, cost.'

176. GNAT nem

PROTO-URALIC *nem3 'gnat, midge,' Udmurt nimi, Komi-Zyrian nom, Yurak ńimeLu 'midge,' Selkup njmarä 'midge.'

?Altaic: Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian newne 'lady bug,' Khalkha nüne 'lady bug.'

MODERN JAPANESE nomi 'flea.'

GILYAK nemx 'gnat, mosquito.'

177. GO_1 $i \sim ya$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ei- ~ *i-, Hittite iyanzi 'they go,' it 'go!,' Latin ēo 'I go,' Gothic iddja 'went,' Old Prussian ēit 'goes,' Lithuanian eimi 'I go,' Latvian eīmu 'I go,' Old Church Slavic iti 'go,' Sanskrit yā(-ti) ~ é(-ti) 'goes,' Tocharian A, B i. Cf. also *h₁ iter- (MA) 'a going,' Hittite itar 'a going,' Latin iter 'a going, walk, way,' Tocharian A ytār 'road, way.' "Practically universal

in Indo-European and old. This appears to have been the least marked verb of motion in Proto-Indo-European" (Mallory and Adams 1997: 228).

URALIC: Ugric: Vogul jö, Ostyak ji \sim je, Hungarian jöv-.

PROTO-ALTAIC *āja 'go, walk,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Kalmyk, Dagur ajan 'travel, journey.' Proto-Tungus *āj- 'run quickly,' Manchu aja- 'run quickly,' Nanai āi- 'step (on sand, snow),' Even ajiŋ 'quick,' Orok aja-munǯi 'quick.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *ī-re 'come, enter,' Proto-Turkic *Er- 'reach,' Old Turkic är- 'reach,' Turkish är- ~ ir- 'reach,' Turkmen ēr- 'reach.' Middle Mongolian jire 'come,' Written Mongolian, Dagur, Khalkha ire- 'come,' Kalmyk ir- 'come.' Proto-Tungus *ī- 'enter,' Manchu ji-be- 'enter,' Negidal, Nanai, Ulch, Orok, Even, Evenki ī- 'enter,' Ju-chen i-re- 'enter.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ili- 'reach,' modern Korean ili-da 'reach.'

OLD JAPANESE ayum-'walk,' modern Japanese ayum-'walk.' Cf. also Old Japanese ita-r-'reach,' modern Japanese ita-u 'reach' and Old Japanese ir-'enter.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Central Alaskan Yupik ayay- 'leave, go away, depart' (Jacobson 1984), Inuit (Labrador) aivuq 'goes, goes away.' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *ayu- 'go ahead or further,' Sirenik ayə- 'go far off,' Central Alaskan Yupik ayu- 'progress, go further,' North Alaskan Inuit ayu- 'go ahead,' Eastern Canadian Inuit ayu- 'run away.'

• IS 357, N 130, MR 57, BK 442

178. GO₂ al

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *al- 'wander aimlessly, be lost,' Latin ambulō 'I take a walk,' Latvian $alu\hat{o}t(i\hat{e}s)$ 'go astray,' Tocharian A, B $\bar{a}l$ 'keep off,' Greek $al\acute{a}omai$ 'I wander about.'

URALIC: Samoyed: Selkup al 'to step.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *alak'u 'to walk, step,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian alqu- 'to step,' Khalkha alxa- 'to step,' Dagur alku- \sim alxu- 'to step.'

OLD JAPANESE aruk- 'walk,' modern Japanese aruku 'walk.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal el 'go.'

179. GO UP aki

PROTO-ALTAIC * $i\bar{a}k'V \sim *i\bar{a}gV$ 'to rise,' Proto-Turkic * $i\bar{a}g$ - 'rise, get up,' Old Turkic, Turkish ay- 'rise.'

OLD JAPANESE aga- 'raise,' modern Japanese age 'raise,' Ryukyuan agi-yung 'raise.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *akkiʁ- 'lift up,' Central Siberian Yupik akiʁ- 'support, prop up,' Central Alaskan Yupik akiʁ- 'hold up, lift,' North Alaskan Inuit akkiq- 'catch someone or something from falling,' Greenlandic akkiʁ- 'lift (from below).'

180. GOOD₁ asu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(e)su ~ *uĕsu-, *wesu- (GI), Hittite assu-, assiya- 'be favorable, good, be dear,' Luwian wāsu-, Avestan vohu, Sanskrit vásu 'good, excellent,' Germanic Wisi ~ Wesi 'the noble people (earliest name of the Goths).'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Old Turkic asyg- 'advantage, gain' (Räsänen 1969: 29). Mongolian: Kalmyk asig 'gain, use.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *asiʁ- 'be good,' Alutiiq asiʁ- 'be good,' Central Alaskan Yupik asiʁ- 'be good,' asqiɣ- 'be right, satisfactory,' aspiaʁ- 'be excellent.'

181. GOOD₂ aya

PROTO-URALIC *ojwa 'head, leader,' Finnish oiva 'very good,' Saami oaive 'head,' Cheremis wuj 'head,' Yurak ŋäewa 'head,' Enets ewa 'head.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma ayā- 'be happy.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ajV 'good, fitting,' Proto-Turkic *ăja- 'to honor; very, strongly,' Old Turkic aja 'esteem,' Turkish iji 'good,' Tatar, Turkmen aja 'look after.' Middle Mongolian (h)aja 'favorable circumstances,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha aja 'favorable circumstances.' Proto-Tungus *aja- 'good, handsome, beautiful,' Negidal aja, Manchu aj-luŋca 'handsome,' Nanai $ai \sim aj\bar{a}$, 'good,' Ulch aja.

KOREAN ajappu 'be good' (Poppe 1960), not found in MLC. OLD JAPANESE yo-si \sim ye-, modern Japanese ii.

182. GOOSE ka(n)s

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ĝhan-s-, *ghans- (W) 'goose,' Old Irish gēis 'swan,' Latin ānser, Old Norse gās, Old High German gans, Old English gōs, Russian gusĭ.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *gaso ~ *gasi 'crane, aquatic bird,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian geske 'fish eagle,' Kalmyk geskə 'fish eagle.' Proto-Tungus *gasa 'crane, bird, swan, duck,' Negidal gasa 'swan,' Manchu gasxa 'bird,' Nanai, Ulch, Orok gasa 'duck,' Evenki gasa 'crane.'

Сникотіам: Kamchadal qsas ~ qsias (Radliński).

183. GRANDMOTHER ana

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *an-, *Han- (GI), *h₂en- (MA) 'grandmother, father's mother, mother, old woman,' Hittite annas 'mother,' hannas 'grandmother,' Lycian xãna 'grandmother,' Armenian han 'grandmother,' Old High German ana 'grandmother,' Old Prussian ane 'female ancestor.'
- PROTO-URALIC *ańa 'wife of an older relative,' Saami vuəńńe 'wife of an older brother,' Komi-Zyrian eńe 'sister-in-law,' uńe 'aunt,' Ostyak ăńəki 'older brother's wife,' Vogul āńī 'wife of father's brother,' Hungarian ángy '(older) brother's wife,' Yurak ńeje 'mother's younger sister,' Selkup ońo 'older brother's wife.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *eńa 'mother, elder sister,' Proto-Turkic *ana ~ *eńe 'mother,' Old Turkic, Turkish ana 'mother,' Turkmen ene 'mother,' Chuvash ańnɛ 'mother,' Yakuk ije 'mother.' Proto-Tungus *eńi- 'mother, female,' Evenki, Even, Nanai eńin 'mother,' Orok enin 'mother,' Solon enē 'mother,' Negidal enen 'female fish' (Tsintsius II: 456).
- MIDDLE KOREAN əńi 'mother,' modern Korean əi 'a mother animal, mother and daughter (son, daughter-in-law), parents (archaic)' (MLC 1134).
- OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ane 'elder sister.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *a(a)na 'grandmother, mother,' Sirenik nana 'mother,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik aana 'mother,' North Alaskan Inuit aana 'grandmother,' Greenlandic aanak 'grandmother.'
 - MR 2

184. GRASS₁ man

PROTO-ALTAIC *mińu 'a kind of grass,' Proto-Turkic *bɨńan 'a kind of grass,' Turkish bojan, Azerbaijani bijan, Turkmen bujan, Chuvash mojan.

?MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean minari 'celery.'

AINU mun 'grass, weeds'; mun 'vegetable' (dialect 1, Hattori 93: 18) and with the meaning 'grass' in compounds: mun-tum (dialect 1), mun-sar (dialect 3), mun-toy (dialect 5), mun-suka (dialect 9).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *manəʁ 'tussock of grass,' Central Alaskan Yupik manəq 'tussock,' Greenlandic maniq 'moss for kindling a fire.'

185. GRASS₂ pak

PROTO-ALTAIC *pioka 'a kind of weed,' Proto-Turkic *bakir 'cockle,' Chuvash poxra 'cockle,' Tuvin p'ak 'burdock.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian agi 'wormwood,' Khalkha ag' 'wormwood.' Proto-Tungus *poka 'henbane, fern, dry grass for fire,' Manchu fuqtala 'fern,' fuxen 'dry grass for fire,' Nanai poqaqă 'henbane,' Ulch poqo 'henbane.'

?MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean pha 'onion.'

PROTO-JAPANESE (Starostin) *pakua- 'a kind of weed,' modern Japanese hakobe 'weed.'

GILYAK vax 'moss.'

AINU ipui 'grass,' epui 'flower' (Moshiogusa); epui 'bud.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *əvəy, Sirenik əvəx, Alutiiq wək, Greenlandic ivik.

186. GRIND meli

Proto-Indo-European *mel- ~ *mlēi- ~ *mlī-, *melə- (W) 'grind, soften' (variant of mlēu), Hittite mall(a)-, Tocharian A malyw- 'crush, squeeze,' Tocharian B mely- 'crush, squeeze,' Welsh malu, Latin molō 'I grind,' Gothic malan, Old Norse mala, Old High German malan, Lithuanian malu, Old Church Slavic meljo, Armenian malem 'crush.'

PROTO-URALIC *mols 'piece, fragment, crumble, break in pieces,' *mels 'crumble' (Collinder 1955), *mõls 'crumb,' Saami moallo

'crumb,' Proto-Samoyed *mələ 'break,' Yurak mal'ā 'crumble.'

Proto-Altaic *mōli 'cut into pieces,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian möli 'cut (boughs),' Khalkha mölö- 'cut,' Kalmyk möl- 'cut.' Proto-Tungus *m[o]l- 'cut in pieces, into small pieces, wood cuttings, break in pieces,' Evenki meleye- 'cut (in pieces),' Even melles 'into small pieces,' Nanai molži 'break in pieces.'

KOREAN mili-ta 'be soft.'

OLD JAPANESE moro-si 'brittle, fragile.'

Chukotian: Chukchi male- 'wipe off, erase,' $ml\ddot{a} \sim m\ddot{c}\ddot{a}$ 'break,' Koryak mle- 'break, break up' (Korsakov).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Central Alaskan Yupik miili- 'grind.'

• SM 207, IS 359, N 302, BK 518. There is also a root in r found in Indo-European, *mer- \sim *merə- 'rub,' with which one might compare Proto-Uralic *mura \sim *murə 'piece, to break up, pulverize' and Proto-Samoyed *mərə- 'break, break up.'

187. GUARD (v.) pak

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $p\bar{o}(i)$, * $p\bar{a}$ - (W), * p^haH - $\sim p^hoH(i)$ - (GI) 'guard, protect, watch (after cattle), Hittite pah(has)s- 'protect,' Tocharian B $p\bar{a}sk$ - 'guard, protect,' Latin $p\bar{a}sc\bar{o}$ 'I feed, lead to pasture,' Old Church Slavic pasq 'protect, guard.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *baka 'look, watch,' Proto-Turkic *bak- 'watch,' Turkish, Tatar, Turkmen bak 'watch,' Azerbaijani bax- 'watch,' Chuvash pəx- 'watch.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean po- 'see.'

OLD JAPANESE pakar- 'plan, decide, measure,' modern Japanese hakar- 'plan.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *payi- 'stay at home and look after the house,' Sirenik payiti 'nurse (a child),' Central Siberian Yupik payi- 'stay behind (and watch over things),' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik pai 'stay behind (and watch over baby),' North Alaskan Inuit payi- 'stay at home,' Greenlandic pai- 'be alone in the house.'

• IS 354, N 373, BK 58

188. GUTS $tul \sim sul$

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *śola 'intestine,' Finnish suoli 'intes-

tine,' Estonian sool 'intestine,' Saami čoalle 'intestine,' Mordvin śula 'intestine,' Cheremis šolo 'intestine,' Udmurt śul 'rectum,' Ostyak sol 'intestine.'

YUKAGHIR: Tundra t'ul 'meat,' Kolyma čul 'meat.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *siŏlo 'meat, muscle, intestine,' Proto-Turkic *solak 'spleen, gills,' Old Turkic solaq 'spleen,' Chuvash sola 'spleen, gills.' Proto-Tungus *silu-kta 'intestine,' Negidal silta 'intestine,' Orok silu-qta 'intestine,' Evenki silu-kta 'intestine.'

MIDDLE KOREAN săl 'meat,' modern Korean sal 'flesh' (MCL 895).

GILYAK: Amur t'us 'meat,' East Sakhalin t'uř 'meat,' West Sakhalin talk 'meat.'

Chukotian: Chukchi tyrgytyr 'soft meat,' -tol 'meat (of a specified animal),' Palana Koryak t?ol 'piece of meat,' Kamchadal txaltxal 'meat' (Worth).

• IS 344

189. HAIR/HEAD mel

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mel 'wool, woolen clothing' (only in Greek and Baltic).

PROTO-ALTAIC *mela 'head,' Proto-Turkic *balč 'head,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani, Turkmen baš 'head,' Yakut bas 'head,' Chuvash puś 'head.' Middle Mongolian mal-ǯa- 'bald,' Written Mongolian mal-ǯar 'bald,' Khalkha malʒan 'bald,' Dagur malǯin 'bald.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean *məli* 'head, top, hair' (MLC 608).

AINU moru 'hair on the temples.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut *imli-χ* 'hair of head,' Proto-Eskimo *məlqus 'body hair, fur, feather,' Sirenik məlqəχ 'fur,' Naukan məlquq 'fur, feather,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik məlquq 'feather, human body hair, animal fur,' North Alaskan Inuit mitquq 'body hair, feather, fur,' Greenlandic miqquq 'feather, body hair, fur.'

190. HALF pal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)p(h)el- 'split, split off,' Albanian $pal\ddot{e}$ 'side, part, pair,' Old Church Slavic $pol\breve{u}$ 'side, half,' Russian pol 'half,' Old Irish $d\bar{a}bul$ 'double.'

- PROTO-URALIC *pälä 'half, side,' Finnish pieli 'corner of the mouth,' Saami pällē 'side, half,' Mordvin pel' 'side,' pel'e 'half,' Cheremis pel-, Udmurt pal 'side, half,' Komi-Zyrian pel 'side, one of a pair,' Ostyak pelek 'half, side,' Vogul pāl 'half, side,' Hungarian fél 'half, (one) side (of two),' Proto-Samoyed *pelä 'half,' Yurak pel'e, Enets ferie, Selkup pele, Kamassian pjeel 'half, side.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *pali 'to be separated, divided,' Proto-Turkic *beldir 'crossroads, separation of two roads or rivers,' Old Turkic beltir 'separation of roads,' Yakut bilir 'separation of roads.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha belčir 'crossroad, joint of two rivers,' Kalmyk belčṛ 'crossroad.' Proto-Tungus *pālan 'bifurcation, fork,' Negidal, Ulch xalan 'bifurcation,' Nanai pālā 'bifurcation,' Evenki hālān 'bifurcation.'

KOREAN polim 'half-month, 15th day of lunar month' (MLC 790). AINU pere 'break or split in two pieces' (dialects 1–7, Hattori 136: 46).

• IS 356, BR 18

191. HAMMER (v.) kau

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kău- ~ *kəu-, *kau- (W), *kʰaHu- (GI) 'hew, strike,' Old High German houwan 'hew,' Lithuanian káuja 'strike, forge,' Latvian kaût 'strike, forge,' Old Church Slavic kovo 'forge,' Tocharian B kau- 'strike down, kill, destroy.'

?Yukaghir: Kolyma kigi.

AINU kaukau 'hail (n.)'; kaukau 'hail (n.)' (dialects 1–2 and 5–6, Hattori 228: 43).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo * $ka\partial uy$ - 'strike (with an instrument), Naukan, Central Siberian Yupik kaaw- 'strike with a hammer,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kauy- 'strike with an object,' North Alaskan Inuit kauk- 'hammer (v.),' Greenlandic kaat- (< kau(t)-).

192. HAND₁ kati

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *käte, Finnish, Estonian käsi, Saami, Cheremis kit, Mordvin ked', Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian ki, Ostyak köt \sim ket, Vogul kāt, Hungarian kéz.

Proto-Altaic *gač'i 'branch, bough,' Middle Mongolian gač-

'bough, spruce,' Written Mongolian yačura 'bough,' Khalkha gačur.

MIDDLE KOREAN kači 'branch,' modern Korean kaži 'branch, bough' (MLC 26).

Modern Japanese kadi 'rudder.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal xk'ič.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut qisiq 'hollow of the hand.'

• SM 22, IS 362, N 80, MR 7, BK 226

193. HAND₂ ute

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *utå, Tavgy jutu, Enets úda, Selkup utį. PROTO-ALTAIC *udV 'arm, thigh,' ?Proto-Turkic *ud-luk 'thigh,' Old Turkic uδluq 'thigh,' Turkish ujluk 'thigh,' Turkmen ujluq 'thigh,' Yakut ulluk 'thigh.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ude 'arm.'

194. HAND/GIVE/MEASURE $ma-n \sim ma-k \sim ma-r$

Proto-Indo-European *mə-r ~ *mə-nəs, *me- ~ *me-te- 'to measure,' *med 'measure,' *m\(\frac{H}{r}-/n-(t^h)-\) (GI) 'hand,' Hittite m\(\bar{a}\)niyahh- 'hand over,' Greek m\(\delta\)receive,' Albanian marr 'take, receive,' mat- 'to measure,' Latin manus 'hand,' Sanskrit m\(\bar{a}-ti\) 'he/she measures,' magh\(\delta-\) 'gift,' Avestan m\(\bar{a}-\) 'measure,' maga- 'gift,' Gothic m\(\bar{e}l\) 'time,' mit-an 'to measure,' Lithuanian m\(\bar{e}t-as\) 'year, time, measure,' Old Icelandic met 'weight.' That the Proto-Indo-European form is not an r/n-stem is shown by both internal and external evidence.

Proto-Uralic *miye- 'give, sell,' Finnish myy- 'sell,' Estonian müü- 'sell,' Saami mīkke 'sell,' Mordvin mije- 'sell,' Ostyak mij 'give,' Vogul mäj- 'give,' Yurak mana 'finger,' mi- 'give, sell,' Enets mi?e- 'give,' Kamassian mi- 'give'; Proto-Finno-Ugric *mers- 'measure (v.),' Udmurt mertal- 'measure (v.),' Komi-Zyrian murtal- 'measure (v.),' Hungarian mér- 'measure (v.).'

Yukaghir: Kolyma min- 'take.'

Proto-Altaic *mańe 'paw, thigh,' Proto-Turkic *bań- 'sole (of foot),' Turkmen majtiq 'lame.' Proto-Tungus *mańa 'paw (of an animal),' *mana 'paw,' Negidal, Ulch, Evenki mańa 'paw,' Nanai māja 'paw,' Even māna 'paw.' Cf. also such Tungus forms

- as Udihe, Ulch, Oroch, Even ma 'here, take it!' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *miala 'measure (n. and v.).' Proto-Tungus *miali- 'measure (n. and v.),' Manchu mali- 'to measure,' malin 'measure (n.),' Ju-chen mia-lian-ha 'measure.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN mal 'measure,' modern Korean mal 'a measure of about 18 liters' (MLC 578), mān 'amount, measure' (Ramstedt 1949).
- OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese *masu* 'a measure, container for measuring grain.'
- AINU amoini 'forearm'; amunin 'forearm' (dialects 2–4, Hattori 11: 85), amunnin 'forearm' (dialect 1), imeka ~ omeka 'gift, present' (dialect 1, Hattori 80: 4).
- GILYAK *imy* ~ *imy* 'give' (*i* is an incorporated third-person object), *man* 'measure by handspans,' *tuń-miń* 'finger,' -*ma* (numeral classifier for spans), Sakhalin *mel* 'upper arm.'
- CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi mangətkən 'finger,' Aliutor məny- 'hand,' Koryak mənəqal 'hand.'
- SM 138, MR 26, BK 408, 515. As seen in Table 1 in Chapter 1, the Amerind etymology for 'hand, give, take' is remarkably similar in both form and meaning to the Eurasiatic etymology given here (see Greenberg 1987: 58). This is but one of the indications that Amerind is closest genetically to Eurasiatic.

195. HANG₁ kar

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ker- ~ *kŏr- (tr. and intr.), Latvian karti, Greek krema-mai 'I hang' (only found in Baltic and Greek).
- PROTO-ALTAIC *giari 'stretch, spread,' Proto-Turkic *ger- 'to hang, spread out,' Old Turkic ker-, Turkish ger-, Turkmen gär-, Chuvash kar-.
- MIDDLE KOREAN kāl-thi 'hang on,' modern Korean kəlli-ta 'is hung,' kəl-da 'hangs, hooks' (MLC 97).
- OLD JAPANESE kakar-u 'something hangs (from),' kak-u 'hang something,' modern Japanese kake-ru 'hang something.'
- GILYAK e γ ro(-d') (basic form kr'o).
- CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal qli 'dangle' (Worth).
 - SM 98

196. HANG₂ tol

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $tel(\vartheta)$ - ~ * $tl\bar{e}i$ - ~ * $tl\bar{a}$ -, * t^hel - (GI) 'lift, carry, weigh, endure,' Sanskrit tolayati 'lifts up, weighs,' Latin tollō 'I lift,' Tocharian A, B $t\ddot{a}l$ - 'raise, keep raised.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'jālo 'hang, belt,' Middle Mongolian teleji 'belt for trousers,' Written Mongolian telei 'belt,' Khalkha telē 'belt.' Proto-Tungus *tōli 'belt,' Manchu toli 'belt,' Evenki tōl 'belt.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tāl 'hang, fasten,' modern Korean tal 'hang (intr.)' (MLC 403).

OLD JAPANESE tar-u, modern Japanese tareru. Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese tur-u 'fish, hang a line for catching fish,' turi-bashi 'suspension bridge.'

AINU tara 'an appendage, dangle from, sling for carrying bundles.'
• SM 97

197. HARD₁ tik

PROTO-ALTAIC *tig(V)ŕa 'firm, strong,' Proto-Turkic *Tigra ~ *Tigiŕ 'firm, tough, compact,' Old Turkic tiyra-q 'firm,' Chuvash təvər 'firm, compact,' Yakut tijis 'firm, compact.' Middle Mongolian čiyirag 'firm, tough,' Written Mongolian čigiray 'firm,' Khalkha, Kalmyk čīreg 'firm,' Dagur čira 'firm,' Monguor ćirag 'firm.' Proto-Tungus *diktu 'firm, tough,' Negidal, Ulch diktu 'firm,' Manchu žuktu 'firm,' Nanai žiktu 'firm,' Orok žiktu 'firm.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tilk- 'tough, firm,' modern Korean čilgi- 'firm.'

OLD JAPANESE tikara 'force, strength,' modern Japanese chikara 'strength.' Cf. also modern Japanese takumasi 'stout, sturdy, brawny, resolute.'

AINU tak ~ taktak 'hard, a hard lump, clod.'

GILYAK teka(-d') 'be strong.'

CHUKOTIAN: Eastern Kamchadal dakulk 'strongly' (Radliński).

PROTO-ESKIMO-ALEUT *t(i)γə 'be hard, stiff, tough,' Eastern Aleut txa- 'be tight (rope),' Proto-Eskimo *təγəγ- 'be hard or stiff,' Sirenik təγaκəvaoaχ 'hard, resilient, unbending,' Alutiiq təxə- 'be stiff, tough,' Central Alaskan Yupik təxə- 'be hard, tough,' North Alaskan Inuit tiγγaq- 'be stiff,' Greenlandic tiiγ- 'stiffen.'

198. HARD₂ kat

- PROTO-ALTAIC *k'et'o, Proto-Turkic *Kat-, Old Turkic qat, Turkish kat, Turkmen Gat, Chuvash xidə, Yakut kit. Middle Mongolian qata'u, Written Mongolian qata-, Khalkha xat(u)-, Dagur katən, Monguor xadoŋ. Proto-Tungus *(x)etu- 'hard, strong,' Manchu etu-xun.
- MIDDLE KOREAN kut-, modern Korean kut-ta 'become hard' (MLC 216).
- OLD JAPANESE kata-'hard (to the touch)' (Murayama 1966, no. 27), modern Japanese kata-i.
- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN * $k \ni t \land -$ 'hard, strong, straight,' Chukchi $k \ni t -$, Aliutor $k \bowtie t \lor -$ ($n \ni -$) $k \bowtie (-la-\chi)$ 'strong,' Southern Kamchadal $k \bowtie t \lor -$ (Radliński).
 - SM 99

199. HARD₃ kem

- PROTO-URALIC *kämä 'hard, solid, firm,' Finnish kämä 'strong,' Mordvin keme 'hard,' Hungarian kemény 'hard,' Selkup koom 'hard.'
- Yukaghir kim 'hard, firm,' Kolyma kimdeš 'remain secure' (Angere).
- PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jome 'marrow,' Proto-Turkic *kEmük 'bone,' Old Turkic kemük 'bone,' Turkish kemik 'bone,' Tatar kimek 'bone.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian kemi 'bone with marrow, marrow,' Khalkha xim 'bone,' Kalmyk kemə 'bone.' Proto-Tungus *xumā-n 'metatarsus, marrow,' Orok xuma(n) 'marrow,' xūmnū 'metatarsus,' Ulch xoma(n) 'marrow,' Manchu uman 'marrow,' umuxun 'metatarsus,' Evenki umān 'marrow.'

KOREAN him 'strength' (MLC 1901).

- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *qəməla-qəməla 'marrow,' Chukchi qəməl 'marrow,' Koryak xəmla 'bone, marrow,' Kamchadal qamha 'marrow, bones' (Worth).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *akmaaq 'flint,' North Alaskan Inuit akmaaq ~ aymaaq 'flint,' Greenlandic ammaaq 'flint.'
 - IS 368

200. HEAD₁ pek

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ek'V ~ *pek'V 'head, brain,' Middle Mongolian xeki, Written Mongolian ekin, Khalkha ex 'front,' Kalmyk ekn 'front,' Dagur xeki 'front,' Monguor xəgi. Proto-Tungus *peki 'brain,' Manchu fexi.

MIDDLE KOREAN tjəŋ-paki 'top of the head.'

AINU pake ~ pa; pake (dialects 1, 2, 4-9, Hattori 2: 1); pa (Dobrotvorskij).

• Poppe 1960: 56.

201. HEAD₂ kabel

Proto-Indo-European *ghebh-el- ~ *ghebh-lo- 'head, summit,' Old High German gibil 'gable,' gebal 'skull, gable,' Greek kephalé 'head, top,' Gothic gibla 'gable,' Tocharian A śpāl.

PROTO-ALTAIC *kiam(b)a 'top of head, top,' Proto-Turkic * $k(i)a-mak \sim *k(i)apak$ 'forehead, front part,' Azerbaijani GabaG 'forehead,' Yakut qabayal 'forehead.' Proto-Tungus * $kiama \sim *kiapa$ 'temple, face,' Nanai $q\bar{a}f$ 'temple,' Orok $q\bar{e}mi$ 'temple,' Evenki $k\bar{e}wa$ 'face.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kama 'crown of head.'

OLD JAPANESE kabu(ri) 'head,' modern Japanese kaburi 'head.'

GILYAK kimlix 'fish head' (probably a borrowing from Kamchadal).

Chukotian: Kamchadal xewlič 'fish head,' Northern Kamchadal xabel (Krasheninnikov).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut $kam\gamma-i\chi$ (< *kavə\gamma), Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *kav\zaq \sim *kav\zaq 'crown of the head,' North Alaskan Inuit kav\zaq 'crown of the head,' Greenlandic ka\zeta\zetaiq (< *kavsseq) 'crown of the head.' It should be noted that Inuit \zeta derives from Proto-Eskimo *I in certain environments.

• BK 219

202. $HEAD_3$ ker

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *\$\kar{e}(\tau)- \sim *\$\kar{k}r\bar{a}, *ker- (W), *\$\kar{k}^h(e)rHs-r/n\$ 'top part of the body, head, horn, summit,' Hittite harsar (genitive harsanas), Old Norse hjarsi 'crown of the head,' Sanskrit síras 'head, summit,' Avestan sarah- 'head,' Greek kár 'head,' Latin cerebrum 'brain,' Old High German hirni 'forehead.'

AINU kirawe 'horns.'

Chukotian: Chukchi kərətkən 'river source, tree top' (Moll), kərrel 'forehead' (Bogoras 1922).

203. HIDE (n.) ter

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'era 'hair, wool,' Proto-Turkic *Tar 'raft made of skins,' Old Turkic teri 'animal hide,' tar 'raft made of skins.' Middle Mongolian tar 'hair, sort of wool,' Written Mongolian tar 'hair,' Khalkha tar 'lock of hair,' Kalmyk tar 'hair.' Proto-Tungus *terge- 'deerskin,' Even tergəs 'deerskin,' Evenki tergekse 'deerskin,' Negidal tergemi 'footwear made of deerskin.'

MIDDLE KOREAN təlh(i) 'hair, feather,' modern Korean thəl 'hair.' AINU rus 'animal skin'; rus 'fur' (all dialects, Hattori 89: 33); trusa 'hide, animal skin' (Dobrotvorskij).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal təlgətx 'leather' (Worth).

204. HIGH₁ pirka

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bheregh-, *bhergh- (W), *bh(e)rgh- (GI) 'high, exalted,' Hittite parku-, Sanskrit bṛhánt-, Armenian barjr, Tocharian A pärkär 'long,' Old Norse berg 'mountain, rock,' borg 'height, wall.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *pirə 'a height,' Tavgy fira 'height,' Yurak (Tundra) pir 'height,' Selkup pirį 'height'; Proto-Samoyed *pirkä 'high,' Selkup pirqį, Kamassian phirže, Taigi hürgi.

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'jāre 'steep bank,' Proto-Turkic *jār 'precipice, steep bank,' Old Turkic, Turkish jar 'precipice,' Azerbaijani jarcan 'precipice,' Turkmen jār 'precipice,' Chuvash śir 'precipice,'
Yakut sīr 'precipice.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian
ergi 'steep bank,' Khalkha ereg 'steep bank,' Dagur ergi 'steep
bank.' Proto-Tungus *piri 'steep (bank, slope),' Even hiri-le
'rock, cliff,' Evenki hir-ki 'steep bank.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi pərqa 'stone column.'

• N 9, BK 19

205. $HIGH_2$ nop

MIDDLE KOREAN noph-'be high, elevated,' modern Korean noph-ta

'is high' (MLC 352), nophi 'aloft, highly' (MLC 353).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese nobor-u 'rise, ascend.'

AINU nupuri 'mountain'; nupuri 'mountain' (dialects 1–8, Hattori 212: 8), nupuru 'mountain' (dialect 9). Cf. also nup-kurun-ni 'trembling poplar' (Batchelor), in which -ni is 'tree' and kurun-ni, 'poplar.'

206. $HILL_1$ sa(n)ka

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *ćiŋkä, Estonian sünk 'grassy knoll,' Cheremis šüŋyä 'clump of earth,' Ostyak śuŋk, Vogul śaŋk, Hungarian ség.

PROTO-ALTAIC *sak'o ~ *sako 'heap, pile,' Proto-Turkic *saka 'foot of mountain,' Old Turkic saqa 'foot of mountain.' Proto-Tungus *sak- 'pile, stack, icedrift,' Manchu saqsan 'pile, stack, icedrift,' Negidal saksī 'icedrift,' Nanai sōqsi 'icedrift.' Cf. also Udihe sakta(n) 'foot of mountain, base of a pillar.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $s\bar{a}(h)$ - 'pile up, to prop,' modern Korean s:atha 'pile up.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese saka.

207. HILL₂ mor

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *mor3 'a kind of tree,' Saami muorrâ 'tree, wood,' Hungarian mórágy 'a species of tree.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *mūro 'tree, forest,' Middle Mongolian modun 'tree,' Written Mongolian modu(n) 'tree,' Khalkha mod 'tree,' Kalmyk modņ 'tree,' Monguor mōdi 'tree.' Proto-Tungus *mō 'tree, wood,' Negidal, Nanai, Ulch, Orok, Even, Evenki mō 'tree,' Manchu, Ju-chen moo 'tree.'

MIDDLE KOREAN mōi 'mountain,' moro 'mountain, wood, forest.' OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese mori 'mountain, forest.'

Ainu mori 'a little hill, slope, hillock.'

GILYAK myr- 'climb up a mountain.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak majo-lyən 'hill, height.'

208. HIT_1 tap

Proto-Indo-European *deph- 'strike,' Armenian top'em 'strike,'

Serbo-Croatian depiti 'strike.'

PROTO-URALIC *tappa 'trample, hit with feet,' Finnish tappa- 'kill,' Estonian tapa- 'kill,' Mordvin tapa- 'hit, strike,' Hungarian (dial.) tapp- 'step, stride (n.),' Yurak tapar- 'walk.'

Proto-Altaic *tāp'i 'to stamp, press,' Proto-Turkic *dāp- 'trample,' Tatar tapa- 'trample,' Kazakh tap-ta 'hammer, forge,' Chagatai tap-la 'forge' (Räsänen 1969). Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian dabta- 'forge, hammer,' Khalkha davta- 'forge.' Proto-Tungus *dap- 'flatten, press,' Evenki dapča- 'flatten.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *t'jop'e 'trample,' Proto-Turkic *tep- ~ *dep- 'stamp, tramp,' Old Turkic tep- 'tramp,' Turkish dep- ~ tep- 'tramp,' Chuvash tab 'tramp,' Yakut tep- 'tramp.' Middle Mongolian te'ure- 'trample, crush,' Written Mongolian tübür- 'trample,' Khalkha tijre- 'trample.' Proto-Tungus *tupu- ~ *tubu- 'trample, step, track, stirrup,' Evenki tū(w)- 'trample,' Even tö- 'trample,' Manchu tufun 'stirrup.'

?MIDDLE KOREAN tjap 'kill, slaughter,' modern Korean čap- 'kill.' OLD JAPANESE tubur- 'trample, destroy,' modern Japanese tsubus- 'trample.' Cf. also Old Japanese tapu-su 'kill.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak tip-ok 'stab, break' (Zhukova).

• IS 330, N 349, BK 138

209. HIT_2 ut

URALIC: Ugric: Hungarian üt.

PROTO-ALTAIC *it'u 'hit, push,' Proto-Turkic *it- 'hit, push,' Old Turkic, Turkmen it-, Yakut üt-. Cf. also Tungus: Evenki itəŋ 'to fight, knock, hit.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ut- 'hit, beat,' Ryukyuan ud-ung. AINU uta 'mortar'; uta 'beat, tap' (Patrie 4.25.3); ot-ke 'stab it' (dialects 1–7, Hattori 146: 116).

210. HOLE₁ kot

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kot-~ *kēt- 'room, house, dwelling (originally hole in the ground as dwelling), pit,' Old English heaðor 'enclosure, prison,' Gothic hēthjō 'room,' Old Church Slavic kotĭcĭ 'chamber,' Avestan kata- 'chamber,' Sanskrit cattá- 'hidden.'

Proto-Altaic *kòt'e 'hole,' Proto-Turkic *göt 'anus, buttocks,' Old Turkic köt 'anus,' Turkish göt 'anus,' Chuvash kot 'anus.' Middle Mongolian *kota-gar 'hollow (n.),' Written Mongolian qota-yar 'hollow (n.),' Khalkha xotgor 'hollow (n.),' Kalmyk xotəyər 'hollow (n.).' Proto-Tungus *kota- 'cavity, concave,' Evenki koto-kon 'cavity,' Even qotańa 'cavity,' Manchu xotoro- 'bend upwards.' Cf. also Proto-Tungus *kuči-n 'well,' Manchu xučin 'well,' Nanai xoči 'well.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kut 'hole, pit,' modern Korean kut (written kus) 'opening, hole' (MLC 221). Cf. also Koguryo xuče 'mouth.'

OLD JAPANESE kuti 'mouth,' modern Japanese kuchi 'mouth.'

AINU kut 'throat,' kut-tom 'pharynx' (tom 'interior').

GILYAK k'oti 'burrow, hole.'

• SM 150

211. HOLE₂ api

INDO-EUROPEAN: Hittite api- 'hole in the ground.'

Proto-Uralic *owe 'door,' Finnish ovi 'door,' Ostyak -aw 'door,' Vogul āwi 'door,' Yurak ńo 'door,' Enets ŋia 'door,' Tavgy ŋoa 'door,' Kamassian aje 'door.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ip 'mouth,' ip(h) 'recite,' modern Korean ip 'mouth' (MLC 1363). Cf. also Middle Korean, modern Korean ip 'door.'

OLD JAPANESE apida 'opening, space, interval,' modern Japanese aida.

GILYAK avi 'jaw of an animal,' Sakhalin afŋ (Saveleva), aui (Glehn). CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ev- 'make a hole,' Koryak ava 'hole.'

212. HOLE₃ puto

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $p\bar{u}$ -to-, *putós (MA) 'vulva, anus,' Sanskrit $p\bar{u}$ tau 'buttocks,' Spanish puta 'whore,' Old Icelandic $fu\delta$ 'vulva,' Middle High German vut 'vulva,' Greek $p\acute{u}$ nnos (< * $p\acute{u}$ t-no) 'anus.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *put3 'rectum, large intestine,' Saami buttěgě 'rectum,' Ostyak pŭt5 'rectum,' Vogul puti 'large intestine.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma abut 'hole, den, nest.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ūt'e, Proto-Turkic *ūt, Old Turkic üt, Yakut ūt. Middle Mongolian hutukun 'vulva,' Written Mongolian ütügü 'vulva,' Khalkha ütrē 'vulva,' Kalmyk ütgņ 'vulva.' Proto-Tungus *putē 'hole, nostril,' *puta (Benzing) 'bag, pocket,' Ulch puta 'bag, pocket,' Gold pota(čan) 'bag, pocket,' Orok putē 'hole, break through,' Evenki huta(kān) 'bag, pocket,' Manchu feteri 'nostril.'

MODERN KOREAN poci 'vulva.'

OLD JAPANESE poto 'vulva,' modern Japanese hoto 'vulva.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *putu, Sirenik puta, Central Siberian Yupik putu 'hole made at edge of skin,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic putu 'hole through something; pierce, have a hole.'
• IS 340, BR 21

213. HONEY mal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *meli-t (genitive mel-nes), *mel-i-th- (GI), Hittite militt-, Luwian mallit-, Old Irish mil, Latin mel, Armenian mel-u 'bee,' melr 'honey,' Albanian myal, Gothic milip.

PROTO-ALTAIC *malV 'honey, plant oil,' Proto-Turkic *bal, Turkmen bal, Chuvash pɨl. Proto-Tungus *mala 'plant oil, sesame oil,' Ulch mala 'oil,' Manchu malaŋcu 'oil,' Nanai malengu 'oil.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi məl'ač.

• N 276, BK 535

214. HORN nog

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *onogh- ~ *ongh-, *nogh- (W) 'fingernail, toenail, claw,' Old Irish ingen 'nail,' Latin unguis 'nail, claw,' ungulus 'hoof,' Old Norse nage 'nail,' Old High German nagal 'nail,' Old Prussian nage 'foot,' Lithuanian nāgas 'nail, claw,' Old Church Slavic noga 'foot, leg,' Sanskrit ánghri- 'foot,' nakhá- 'nail, claw.'

GILYAK: West Sakhalin $nu\acute{n}guf \sim nganguf \sim ngangif$ (Glehn, -f is a locative formative).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *nayžuk 'antler,' North Alaskan Inuit nayžuk 'antler,' Greenlandic naššuk 'antler, horn.'

215. HOT ama

- OLD Japanese moe-ru \sim moya-su 'burn.'
- AINU ape-mau 'fire heat'; ma 'roast, broil' (all dialects, except Sakhalin maa, Hattori 97: 50).
- CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi (n-)om(-qen), Koryak om(-ka), Kamchadal om(-lax).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut amaaqu-lix 'to warm oneself by the fire,' ?amu- 'to flash (lightning),' Proto-Eskimo *a(C)umas 'ember,' Alutiiq aumasaq 'ember, glowing coal,' Central Alaskan Yupik aumaq ~ aumak 'ember, glowing coal,' North Alaskan Inuit auma 'ember, coal,' Greenlandic aama(q) 'ember, glowing coal.'

216. HOUSE nime

- YUKAGHIR: Tundra $nime(\eta)$, Kolyma numo, Chuvan nauma-gi 'his house.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *ńimi ~ *ńime 'host, guest,' Proto-Tungus *ńime-'to visit, be a guest,' Negidal ńimej- 'to visit,' Nanai nime-ri- 'to visit,' Evenki nime- ~ ńime 'to host,' Ulch ńime 'neighbor.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN nīm 'host,' modern Korean im-gim 'host.'
- ?OLD JAPANESE mima-p- 'to visit (a sick person, etc.),' modern Japanese mima- 'to visit.'
- Chukotian: Koryak nəmnəm (with underlying high vowel), Aliutor nəm-jər-?ən 'village' (jər- is a collective suffix, i.e. 'a collection of houses').

217. HURT₁ kes

- PROTO-ALTAIC *kesV 'suffer,' Middle Mongolian kese'e- 'punish, correct,' Written Mongolian keseye- 'punish,' Khalkha xesē- 'punish,' Kalmyk kes- 'be punished.' Proto-Tungus *kesē 'suffer, punish, torture,' Evenki kesē- 'suffer,' Negidal keseyī 'punish,' Ulch keseuču 'torture,' Manchu kesemburu 'scoundrel.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN *kjəs* 'suffer, experience,' modern Korean *kjək*:- 'suffer.'
- OLD Japanese kasiku 'waste, pine away,' modern Japanese kasiku \sim kajiku 'be affected by sickness.'
- AINU keske 'persecute'; keske 'be jealous of' (dialect 1, Hattori 165:

33), ekeske 'be jealous of' (dialect 3).

218. HURT₂ tel

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *del(ə)- 'cut, carve, split,' Latin doleō 'I suffer,' Latvian delīt 'to torture,' Greek dēléomai 'I disturb, harm.'
- Proto-Altaic *delpa 'to split, break,' Middle Mongolian delbe-'burst, break through,' Written Mongolian delbe-le 'burst,' Khalkha delbere- 'burst,' Kalmyk delw!- 'burst.' Proto-Tungus *delpe- 'to split,' Evenki delpe-rge- 'split,' Negidal detpejkin 'split,' Even depčerge- 'split.'
- CHUKOTIAN: Koryak $t \ni \partial l \partial k$ 'to pain' (Korsakov), $t \circ \partial l \partial k$ 'to pain' (Zhukova).
 - BK 79

219. ICE₁ yenka

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *jeg-, *yeg- (W), *(y)ek'- (GI), Hittite eka, Old Irish aig, Old Norse jaki 'piece of ice,' Old English gicel(a) 'icicle.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *jäŋe, Finnish, Estonian jää, Saami jegŋâ 'ice, glacier,' Mordvin ej, Cheremis ij, Udmurt je, Ostyak jeŋk, Vogul jāŋk, Hungarian jég.
- Proto-Altaic *žiok'i 'ice, cold, snow,' *jäŋV (Illich-Svitych), Middle Mongolian žike-yün 'cold, cool,' Written Mongolian žikegün 'cold,' Khalkha žixūn 'cold.' Proto-Tungus *žuke, Manchu, Negidal, Ju-chen žuxe, Evenki, Nanai žuke, Ulch žū, Orok duke, Even žök.
- OLD JAPANESE yuki 'snow, snowfall,' modern Japanese yuki 'snow.' ESKIMO-ALEUT: ?Proto-Eskimo *ciku 'ice, freeze over,' Alutiiq ciku 'ice, freeze over,' Greenlandic siku 'ice.'
 - IS 346

220. ICE₂ kita

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *qiytə- 'cold,' Koryak kitə-, iktat(-ək) 'be covered with ice,' kətkət 'crust on ice,' Chukchi əqətv(-ək) 'cool,' qit-ərkən 'it freezes'; Kamchadal qetat(-kas).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut (Bering) $qi\check{c}ax$ 'frost,' Central Aleut $kda(-\chi)$ 'ice.'

221. INSIDE ena

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *en 'in, into,' Hittite anda 'into, within,' Old Irish, Gothic in 'in(to),' Old Latin en 'in(to),' Old Norse ī 'in,' Old Prussian en 'in,' Old Church Slavic on 'in,' Armenian i 'in,' Tocharian A, B yn 'in, among.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric **\vec{v}ns 'place,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian in 'place,' Hungarian (dial.) eny 'shelter, refuge.'

MIDDLE KOREAN anh 'inside, middle,' modern Korean an.

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese naka 'inside, belly, middle.'

AINU onna(i); onnay (dialects 2 and 3, Hattori 240: 44).

Сникотіам: Chukchi паддэп 'belly,' Kamchadal апэддо.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut nay-an (< *na-ya-ni) 'in it,' Proto-Eskimo *ənə 'place, house,' Sirenik ənə 'place, dwelling,' Alutiiq əna 'house, room, space,' North Alaskan Inuit ɨnɨ 'place, room,' Greenlandic ini 'place, nest, lair.'

 \bullet SM 115, 116. See Volume 1: 149–52 for a discussion of the n- locative.

222. INTESTINE kur

Proto-Indo-European *ĝher-, *gher-- (W) 'intestines,' Old Norse gorn 'guts,' garn 'yarn,' Lithuanian žarnà 'guts,' Sanskrit hirás 'string,' hirá 'vein.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'urko 'intestine, belly,' Proto-Turkic *Kurg-sak 'belly, stomach,' Old Turkic quruysaq 'belly,' Turkish kursak 'belly,' Tatar korsak 'belly,' Azerbaijani, Turkmen gursag 'belly.' Middle Mongolian kurkag 'belly (of cattle),' Written Mongolian qurqay 'belly,' Khalkha xurxag 'belly,' Kalmyk xurxəg 'belly.' Proto-Tungus *xurke- 'belly (of fish),' Negidal ujkene 'belly,' Nanai xujke 'belly,' Ulch xuče(n) 'belly,' Even ökenre 'belly.'

MIDDLE KOREAN *kuləi* 'stomach, inner part of the body.' GILYAK *k'uř* 'guts.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *qilu, Sirenik, Naukan qila, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik qiluq.

• BK 231

223. ISLAND₁ sim

MIDDLE KOREAN sem, modern Korean səm.

OLD JAPANESE sima, modern Japanese shima, Ryukyuan sima.

Chukotian: Kamchadal simt 'earth, dry land,' sim-k 'hillock' (Worth), Southern Kamchadal simt 'earth' (Radliński).

• SM 117

224. ISLAND₂ ota

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *ātay, Turkmen āda, Karaim ada. AINU ota 'sand'; ota 'sand' (dialects 1–10, Hattori 280: 12). GILYAK ur 'island with low shores.'

225. JOINT bogu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bhāghu(-s), *bhaghu- (GI) 'arm, forearm, elbow,' Old Norse bōgr 'arm, shoulder,' Old English bōg 'shoulder, arm, bough,' Avestan bāzu- 'arm, foreleg,' Tocharian A poke 'arm.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *biugu, Proto-Turkic *bogum, Turkish boyum, Tatar buwin, Turkmen bogun. Middle Mongolian bog-tu 'shoulder bone,' Written Mongolian boytu 'shoulder bone,' Khalkha bogto 'shoulder blade.' Proto-Tungus *bog- 'shoulder, cuff,' Evenki boyjan 'cuff,' Even bujan 'cuff.'

OLD JAPANESE pu 'joint, knot.'

AINU pakari 'to measure.' In the Moshiogusa the meaning is given as 'elbow.'

 \bullet Räsänen 1969, BR 20. For the semantics, cf. Greek $p\bar{e}khus$ 'arm, cubit.'

226. JUICE seu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *seu- \sim *seu- \sim

PROTO-ALTAIC *šiōli 'juice, fluid,' Proto-Turkic *söl, Old Turkic söl, Tatar sül, Chuvash šəl 'soup,' Yakut öl 'broth.' Middle Mongolian šülen 'soup,' Written Mongolian silü 'soup,' Khalkha šöl 'soup,' Kalmyk šöln 'soup,' Dagur šil 'soup, juice,' Monguor

 $\check{s}ul\bar{o}$ 'soup.' Proto-Tungus * $\check{s}\bar{o}la$, Manchu $\check{s}ula$, Nanai $\check{c}\bar{o}lo$ 'soup,' Ulch $\check{c}\bar{o}lo(n)$ 'soup.'

MIDDLE KOREAN sal-m- 'to boil,' modern Korean salm- 'to boil.' OLD JAPANESE siru 'juice, soup,' modern Japanese shiru 'juice, soup.'

227. KISS kun

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ku(s)-, Hittite kuwaszi 'kisses,' Old High German kussen. This root often has a nasal infix or perhaps a nasal as part of the root, e.g. Greek kunéō, a form in "-n which never had -s" (Brugmann and Delbrück 1897–1916, Vol. 3: 276).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *kunik- 'sniff, touch noses,' North Alaskan Inuit kunik- 'kiss, sniff,' Greenlandic kuniy- 'kiss.'

228. KNOW₁ ala

PROTO-ALTAIC *ali 'know, listen, hear,' Proto-Turkic *elit- 'hear,' Old Turkic, Azerbaijani ešit- 'hear,' Turkish, Turkmen išit- 'hear,' Tatar išet- 'hear,' Chuvash ilt- 'hear,' Yakut ihit- 'hear.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Dagur al-dar (< ala-da 'be known') 'fame, glory.' Proto-Tungus *ala- 'teach, explain, tell,' Manchu ala- 'speak, tell, explain,' Ulch, Orok alau- 'teach, explain,' Evenki alawū 'teach.'

MIDDLE KOREAN āl- 'know, think,' modern Korean al- 'know, think.' JAPANESE arawasu 'show,' Ryukyuan arāshung. Japanese and Ryukyuan have an s- causative.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *alaŋkaʁ- 'observe, catch sight,' Alutiiq alaŋkaxtə- 'observe, check up on,' Central Alaskan Yupik alakə- 'notice, encounter,' Greenlandic alakka(a)ʁ- 'catch sight of, become visible.' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *əlit- 'learn,' Alutiiq liitə- 'learn,' Greenlandic ilikkaʁ- 'have learned' and *əli-caʁ 'learn, teach,' Naukan ilisaʁ- 'study,' North Alaskan Inuit il'saq- 'study, practice,' East Canadian Inuit ilisaq- 'learn, teach.'

• SM 121

229. KNOW₂ ser \sim sor

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ser- 'to worry, observe, protect, watch

over,' Latin servō 'I guard,' Lydian kat-sare- 'stand watch.'

URALIC: Proto-Balto-Finnic *šer3 'be awake' (Toivonen), Finnish herää 'awake.' Cf. also Kamassian surarlim 'ask.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *sāfi 'know, feel, be aware,' Proto-Turkic *sef- 'feel, understand,' Old Turkic, Azerbaijani, Turkish sez- 'feel,' Turkmen seza(wār) 'feel.' Middle Mongolian seri 'be awake,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Dagur sere- 'be awake,' Kalmyk ser- 'be awake,' Monguor sari- 'be awake.' Tungus: Evenki sələ 'be awake,' Negidal sələ 'to awake' (Tsintsius II: 141). Cf. also Mongolian sur 'learn, ask,' Baoan sera 'learn,' Dagur sore 'learn.'

MIDDLE KOREAN solo- ~ solw- ~ solang- 'thought'

OLD JAPANESE sir-, modern Japanese shiru.

GILYAK azra 'be careful.'

• SM 121, IS 331, N 348

230. KNOW₃ tan

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *teng- ~ *tong-, *tong- (W) 'think, feel, know,' Latin tongeō 'I know,' Old Norse thekkja 'notice,' Old English thencan 'think,' Tocharian A tunk 'love,' Albanian tëngë 'resentment.'

PROTO-URALIC *tuna 'become accustomed to, learn,' Mordvin tonado- 'learn, get accustomed to,' Cheremis tunema- 'learn,' Komi-Zyrian tun 'fortune teller,' prophet,' Hungarian tanul- 'learn,' Yurak tanara- 'teach,' Enets tadda- 'learn,' Selkup tanti- 'learn.'

Proto-Altaic *t'anu 'count, recite,' Proto-Turkic *tanu-, Old Turkic tanu-, Turkmen tani-, Chuvash tin 'witness.' Proto-Tungus *tan- 'read, count,' Negidal tān- 'read,' Evenki, Even tan- 'read.'

OLD JAPANESE tanomu 'ask, request.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak tenməten 'plan, intention.'

• IS 343

231. LAKE₁ to

PROTO-URALIC *tow3 'lake, pond,' Udmurt $t\dot{o}$ 'inland lake, small lake,' Komi-Zyrian $t\dot{t}$, Ostyak tuw 'pond,' Vogul, Hungarian, Yurak $t\bar{o}$, Enets to, Tavgy $t\acute{u}rku$, Selkup $t\bar{u}$, Kamassian tu.

OLD JAPANESE tu 'port, harbor, ferrying place,' modern Japanese (dial.) tsu 'bay.'

AINU to 'lake, puddle'; to (dialects 1–8, 10), too 'lake, pond' (dialect 9, Hattori 215: 22).

GILYAK tu.

232. LAKE₂ mina

OLD JAPANESE mina-mina 'water(s),' Old Japanese, modern Japanese mina-kami 'upper course of a river,' mina-to 'port, harbor,' modern Japanese mina-giru 'overflow,' mina-ge 'drown oneself,' mina-moto 'source (headwater).'

AINU mena 'pond, lake.'

233. LAND ya

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *jåə 'earth, place,' Yurak (Tundra) ja 'earth,' Yurak (Forest) jĕå 'earth,' Tavgy jua 'sand, ashes,' Selkup ču 'earth,' Kamassian t'u 'earth,' Taigi ǯa 'earth.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean $y\bar{s}$ 'reef, rock in the sea' (MLC 1160).

AINU ja 'shore, land.'

234. LARGE₁ sali

INDO-EUROPEAN: Hittite salli- 'large, important, respected.'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Old Turkic ašyl 'increase,' Chuvash aslĕ 'large.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut slay- 'be wide,' Proto-Eskimo *cilay- 'be thick, wide,' Naukan siłəy- 'be thick,' Alutiiq łəyə- 'be thick in diameter,' Central Alaskan Yupik ciłəy- 'be thick,' Greenlandic siliy-. Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *ciləy- 'be full.'

235. LARGE₂ pare

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bher 'large, good,' Armenian bari 'good,' Greek phéristos 'best,' Old High German bor 'very.'

URALIC: Finnish paras 'best' (Toivonen).

AINU poro 'large.' Cf. also pirka 'good.'

?GILYAK pila.

Chukotian: Kamchadal pellaga 'large, full.' Chukotian *r and *l are both represented by Kamchadal l.

• N 7, BK 17

236. LARGE₃ ena

PROTO-URALIC *enä 'large, much, many,' Finnish enä 'more, further,' Estonian enam 'more,' Saami jennaj 'much,' Mordvin ińe 'large,' Ostyak enə 'large, thick,' Vogul janiy 'large,' Enets ina 'older brother,' Selkup innê 'older brother.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ani 'very,' Proto-Turkic *eŋ 'very,' Old Turkic eŋ 'very,' Turkish en 'very,' Tatar, Turkmen iŋ 'very,' Yakut eŋin 'diverse, various.' Middle Mongolian aŋqa 'very, extremely,' Written Mongolian aŋqa(n) 'very,' Khalkha anx(an) 'original,' Monguor aŋ 'original.' Proto-Tungus *ana- 'very,' Nanai anam 'very.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi əna-n- (prefix forming the superlative).

237. LAUGH kela

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $\hat{g}el(\vartheta)$ - ~ * $\hat{g}l\bar{e}$ - ~ * $\hat{g}\vartheta la$ - 'shine, cause to smile,' * $\hat{g}el$ - 'to laugh' (M), Greek $gel\hat{a}n$ 'to laugh.'

YUKAGHIR ayal'wel.

Altaic: Turkic: Turkish gül-, Uighur kül.

KOREAN kkal-kkal 'laughing loudly' (MLC 42).

GILYAK nuli 'smile.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *əŋlaʁ-, Sirenik laʁ(ə)-, Naukan ənlaʁ-, North Alaskan Inuit iylaq-, Greenlandic illaʁ-.

238. LEAF pal

Proto-Indo-European *bhel- 'bloom,' *bhol-yo- (W) 'leaf,' *bhloH- (GI), *bhóliom (MA) 'leaf, flower, blossom,' Latin folium, Greek phúllon 'leaf, plant,' Irish bileōc 'little leaf,' Old High German blat, Tocharian A pält.

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *peljä 'ear,' Saami päl'je 'ear,' Mordvin pil'e 'ear,' Cheremis pələš 'ear,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian pel' 'ear,' Ostyak pĕl 'ear,' Vogul pil' 'ear,' Hungarian fül 'ear.'

Yukaghir: Chuvan pol.

KOREAN $p^h i l$ 'plant, green.'

OLD JAPANESE Φ a, modern Japanese ha(ppa).

GILYAK p'l-a ηq (-anq is a collective suffix).

Proto-Chukotian *vile 'ear,' Koryak vəlvəl, Northern Kamchadal bylčxbylč, Western Kamchadal pəllal 'foliage,' pəllapəl \sim pəlla?n.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut *uliq* 'blade of grass' (Geoghegan), Proto-Eskimo *pəlu, Alutiiq pəluq, Greenlandic *pilu*.

• N 16, BK 11

239. LEAVE₁ $pil \sim bir$

PROTO-ALTAIC *bjura 'abandon, lose,' Proto-Turkic *birak- 'throw, abandon, send,' Turkish brak 'throw,' Azerbaijani birax 'send,' Chuvash pɔrax- 'abandon,' Yakut birax 'throw.' Proto-Tungus *burī 'let slip, disappear, let go,' Manchu burubu- 'disappear,' Ju-chen pu-lu-wo-hei 'let slip,' Evenki burī 'let slip,' Even beri 'let slip.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pari- 'abandon, throw away,' modern Korean pəri- 'abandon.'

OLD JAPANESE para-p- 'sweep away, drive out,' modern Japanese hara- 'sweep away.'

Chukotian: Chukchi pelarknen 'he abandons him,' pelatəkən 'he remains,' Koryak pela-k, Kerek pila-k.

240. LEAVE₂ kod

PROTO-URALIC *kaδ'a 'leave, abandon, remain, stay,' Finnish katoa-'vanish, disappear,' Estonian kadu- 'vanish,' Saami guođđ 'leave (behind),' Cheremis koδe 'leave,' Ūdmurt kel't- 'leave out, omit,' Komi-Zyrian kol' 'remain, stay,' Ostyak kăj- 'leave behind, abandon,' Vogul kōl'- 'remain,' Hungarian hagy- 'leave,' Proto-Samoyed *kåjä- (tr.) 'leave behind,' *kåjə- (intr.) 'remain,' Tavgy koae'ema, Selkup kęčiqo, Yurak χāje- 'leave,' Enets kaibo 'remain.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'oda 'abandon, finish,' Proto-Turkic *Kod- 'leave, abandon,' Old Turkic qod- 'put away, leave,' Azerbaijani qoj-, Turkmen σοj-, Chuvash xor-. Proto-Tungus *xod- 'finish, end,' Ulch χοdi- 'finish,' Manchu waǯi- 'finish,' Nanai, Orok χοǯi- 'finish,' Evenki, Even od- 'finish.'

GILYAK kyr-d', Sakhalin kar-nd 'remain.'

?CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal k'ze-l' 'remain behind.'

• IS 352

241. LEAVE₃ $lek \sim lak$

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *leik*, *leik*- (GI) 'leave (behind), abandon, leave over,' Latin linquō 'I leave,' Old High German līhan 'lend,' Old Prussian polīnka 'remains,' Lithuanian liekù, Avestan irinaxti 'releases,' Sanskrit riṇákti 'leaves, releases.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *läkte- 'go, depart,' Finnish lähte- 'go,' Estonian lähe- 'go,' Mordvin livt'e 'come with, go with,' Cheremis läktä- 'go away,' Udmurt likt- 'come,' Komi-Zyrian lakt- 'come,' Ostyak lüyət- 'leave.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *Íjoki 'run away,' Middle Mongolian žigutu- 'run away,' Written Mongolian žigutu- 'run away,' Khalkha zugta- 'run away.' Proto-Tungus *luktu- 'run some distance,' Evenki luktin- 'run some distance.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN noh- 'release,' modern Korean noh-ta 'places, let go, releases' (MLC 353).

OLD Japanese nigeru \sim nogaru 'escape,' nigasu 'release,' nogasu 'let slip away.'

AINU rekakke 'goes out of sight,' rakakse 'go out, die out.'

GILYAK lay- 'go on a distant visit.'

Сникотіам: Chukchi lqät- 'go away.'

242. LICK₁ nyale

PROTO-URALIC *ńole, Finnish nuole-, Estonian nooli- 'lick, eat,' Saami njoallo-, Mordvin nola-, Cheremis nule-, Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian ńul-, Ostyak ńăla-, Vogul ńolant, Hungarian nyal-, Selkup ńu, Kamassian nu-.

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *jālga-, Old Turkic jalga, Turkish jala, Turkmen jāla-, Chuvash śula-, Yakut salā-.

GILYAK jelel ~ helel, hilx 'tongue.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi jiləjil 'tongue,' Koryak jijil 'tongue.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *ulu(q) 'tongue,' Sirenik ula 'tongue,' Alutiiq uluq 'tongue,' Central Alaskan Yupik ulu 'tongue.'

243. LICK₂ lak

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *lak-, Lithuanian lakù 'lap up,' Old Church Slavic loču, Armenian lakem. Cf. also *lei-gh-, Old Irish ligid

- 'licks,' Latin *lingō* 'I lick,' Old English *liccian*, Gothic *bi-laigōn*, Old Church Slavic *lizati*, Sanskrit *leh*.
- PROTO-URALIC *lakkV (Illich-Svitych), Komy lak-, Hungarian lak 'gobble up.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *aluy-, Sirenik aləy-, Alutiiq aluŋə-, Central Alaskan Yupik aluŋə- 'lap with the tongue,' North Alaskan Inuit aluk, Greenlandic aluy-.
 - IS 346, N 247

244. LICK₃ nam

- PROTO-ALTAIC *liumo 'swallow, drink,' Proto-Tungus *lüme-ŋ 'swallow,' Manchu nuŋgi- 'swallow,' Nanai luŋbe- ~ lumge- 'swallow,' Ulch luŋbe- 'swallow,' Orok numce- 'swallow,' Evenki, Negidal nimne- 'swallow.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN nəm-ku- 'swallow,' modern Korean nəmgu- 'swallow.'
- OLD JAPANESE namu 'lick, taste, touch with the tongue,' modern Japanese nameru 'lick.' Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese nom- 'drink, swallow.'
- Chukotian: Chukchi $rom-\sim -nm$ 'hold in the teeth, have a snack to eat' (Bogoras 1922, Moll).

245. LIGHT $_1$ (n.) lek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *leuk-, *l(e)ukh- (GI) 'shine, light, see,' Greek leukós 'light, bright, clear,' Welsh llug 'bright,' Old Irish luacht 'glowing white,' Sanskrit rocá- 'shining,' Tocharian B lyūke.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ilg 'white,' Koryak ilg 'light, clean.'

246. LIGHT₂ (n.) pik

- OLD JAPANESE pikar- 'flash, glitter,' modern Japanese hikaru 'shine,' pikapika suru 'twinkle,' Ryukyuan fikari 'brilliancy.'
- AINU pekere 'light'; peker 'be bright' (dialects 1, 3–5, 7, Hattori 217: 36), pekere 'be bright' (dialect 6).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ihigikuq 'it burns, glows, is on fire.'

247. LIVE (v.) ayu

- Proto-Indo-European *aiw- ~ *aju-, *aiw- (W), *ayu- (GI) 'vital force, life, age of vigor,' Latin aevus 'lifespan,' Gothic aiw-s 'time, eternity, world,' Old Irish āes 'life, age,' Old Norse ævi 'life, age,' Avestan āyū 'lifespan,' Sanskrit áyu 'life, lifespan.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *oje 'life, age,' Proto-Turkic *öj 'time, age,' Yakut (dial.) $\ddot{o}j\ddot{u}n$ 'time, age.' Middle Mongolian uje 'generation, age,' Written Mongolian $\ddot{u}je$ 'age,' Dagur uje 'age,' Monguor uje 'age.' Proto-Tungus *uju- 'alive,' Manchu wei-xun 'alive,' Nanai $uj\ddot{u}$ 'alive,' Ulch, Orok uju(n) 'alive.'
- OLD Japanese oju- 'grow old,' modern Japanese oi 'grow old.'
- Chukchi eju-rkən 'revive,' Koryak eju-k 'live, revive.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *ayumiq 'long ago,' Sirenik ayəmi χ 'long ago, last year,' Central Siberian Yupik ayumiq 'long ago, year.' -mi- is a locative-temporal affix. This root is related to Proto-Eskimo *ayu- 'go ahead or further' and Aleut $a\delta u$ 'be long.'
 - N 101, BK 466

248. LIVER yuk

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *jěk*- $r(t-) \sim$ *jěk*-n, *yěk**r(W), *yek**r- $t^{h-} \sim$ *yek**\text{hw}n-t^{h-} (GI), Latin iecur, Old Prussian iagno, Lithuanian (j)êknos (plural), Avestan yãkarə, Sanskrit yákrt (genitive yaknás).
- AINU juk-ram. The second component, -ram, means 'heart, internal organ' and is often the second member of compounds referring to internal organs, e.g. pen-ram 'chest.'
- Chukotian: Chukchi jiyyi 'small intestines,' Koryak jiyij 'lungs, guts,' Aliutor jyyjyyu- 'guts.'
- ?ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut $\bar{a} \varkappa i \chi$ 'liver,' $\bar{a} \varkappa i n$ 'liver lobes' (Alutiiq $\bar{a} \varkappa i q$ is a borrowing from Aleut).

249. LONG₁ del

Proto-Indo-European *delēgh-, *del- (W), *t'elH(n)gho- (GI), Hittite daluki-, Latin in-dulgeō 'I am long suffering,' Gothic tulgus 'firm, steady,' Old Prussian ilga, Lithuanian ilgas, Old Church Slavic dlŭgŭ, Greek dolikhós, Avestan darəga-, Sanskrit

dīrghá.

PROTO-ALTAIC *delp'a 'wide, flat,' Proto-Turkic *jalpi 'broad, flat,' Old Turkic jalbi 'broad, flat,' Yakut salbaq 'shallow.' Middle Mongolian dalba-ru 'be flat and wide,' Written Mongolian dalbai- 'be flat and wide,' Khalkha dalbaj- 'be flat and wide,' Kalmyk dalwä- 'be flat and wide.' Proto-Tungus *delpi-n 'wide, roomy,' Manchu delfin 'wide,' Even del 'be spread out,' Evenki delēi 'breadth' (Poppe 22).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal t'ałk 'far.'

• BK 123

250. LONG₂ $kin \sim kil$

PROTO-ALTAIC *kiolo 'long, far,' Middle Mongolian kolo 'far,' Written Mongolian qolo 'far,' Khalkha, Dagur xol 'far,' Kalmyk xolə 'far,' Monguor xulo 'far.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kilu, modern Korean kīnkin 'very long' (MLC 277), kili 'length, for a long time' (MLC 280), kīl-ta 'be long' (MLC 277).

GILYAK kyl- 'be long,' kyl-s 'length.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal, West Kamchadal kyngylla 'high' (Krasheninnikov), Southern Kamchadal kuun 'high' (Krasheninnikov).

251. LONG₃ ur

Proto-Altaic *u´ru ~ *u´ro 'long, late,' Proto-Turkic *u´ri-n ~ *u´ra-k 'long, far, long time,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Azerbaijani uzun, Tatar ozin, Turkmen uzīn, Chuvash vorom, Yakut uhun. Middle Mongolian urtu 'long,' uri-t 'formerly,' Written Mongolian urtu 'long,' uri-du 'formerly,' Khalkha urt, Dagur orto 'long,' ordōn 'formerly.' Proto-Tungus *ūri- 'recently, formerly,' Evenki ūr(i) 'formerly,' Even ör 'formerly,' Orok ōra-pči 'formerly,' Negidal uj 'formerly.'

KOREAN olay 'long, for a long time,' olay-ta 'be long (of time)' (MLC 1198).

JAPANESE oi-ta 'aged.' -ta is from a perfect aspectual suffix.

Chukotian: Chukchi ure (Bogoras 1922), oračjen 'length' (Moll), Koryak uje-k 'far,' uje-l?en 'distant,' uje 'distance,' ojaŋ 'at a distance.'

• SM 129

252. LOSE tam

OLD JAPANESE töm- 'cease (tr.),' modern Japanese toma-ru 'cease.' GILYAK tamy- 'cease.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak təmŋev 'be lost.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *tammaʁ- 'lose, be lost,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik tamaʁ- 'lose, be lost,' North Alaskan Inuit tammaq- 'lose, be lost,' Greenlandic tammaʁ- 'be lost, lose one's way, make a mistake.'

253. LOUSE₁ kum

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kem 'to buzz, hum,' Old Prussian camus 'bumble-bee,' Russian komar 'mosquito,' Lithuanian kaminì 'wild bee.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kumi ~ *komi 'a kind of insect,' Proto-Turkic *Kumir- ~ *Kumir- 'ant,' Old Turkic qumursya 'ant,' Tatar kirmiska 'ant,' Yakut kimirdayas 'ant.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian kömörege 'kind of insect,' Khalkha xömrög 'insect.' Proto-Tungus *kumke, Evenki, Even, Negidal kumke, Oroch kume, Udihe kumuge, Nanai (dial.) kuŋke.

MIDDLE KOREAN kəmii 'spider,' modern Korean kemi 'spider' (MLC 84).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kumo 'spider.'

AINU komui 'pick lice,' ikomu 'search for lice.'

Proto-Chukotian *kəmχa ~ *kəmaχı 'stinging insect,' Chukchi kəm?əkəm 'worm, caterpillar' (Moll), kiməlgin 'worm, caterpillar' (Bogoras 1922), Kamchadal ikumčx 'midge,' ximyim 'worm.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kumay, Sirenik kumax, Alutiiq kumakiν- 'delouse,' Naukan, Central Alaskan Yupik, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic kumak. Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *quma(ν) 'intestinal worm,' Sirenik qumaχ 'intestinal worm,' Naukan, Central Alaskan Yupik qumaq 'tapeworm,' North Alaskan Inuit qumak 'worm in bearded seal intestine,' Greenlandic qumaq 'tapeworm.'

 \bullet N 180, SM 214. Cf. No. 434, WORM kurm.

254. LOUSE₂ tay

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *täje, Finnish, Estonian täi, Saami tihke, Cheremis tij, Udmurt tej, Komi-Zyrian toj, Ostyak töytəm, Vogul takəm, Hungarian tetű.

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ijV, Proto-Tungus *ti-kte, Ulch tiqte, Orok tikte, Nanai čikte, Manchu čixe.

AINU tajki 'flea'; tajki 'flea' (all dialects, Hattori 192: 104).

• IS 335

255. LOVE₁ nom

Korean im (< ńim) 'one's beloved, esteemed person' (MLC 376). Old Japanese nöm- 'pray.'

AINU nomi 'worship'; nomi 'hold a festival, perform memorial rites' (all dialects, Hattori 173: 10).

• The Ainu word is perhaps a borrowing from Japanese.

256. LOVE₂ sar

URALIC: Hungarian szeret-.

PROTO-ALTAIC *salo, Turkic: Chuvash šəldər 'beautiful,' Yakut illar 'to be strongly attracted to.' Proto-Tungus *sali- 'esteem, appreciate,' Manchu sali- 'esteem,' Nanai, Orok sali- 'esteem,' Ulch salu 'esteem.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean salaŋ 'love, affection, tenderness' (MLC 871).

OLD JAPANESE sasop-u 'lure, seduce, entice,' modern Japanese sasou 'seduce, entice.'

Gilyak j-asra.

257. LOVE₃ rama

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *rem- 'rest, support oneself, support,' Latvian ràmas 'still,' Lithuanian rìmti 'to be calm,' Gothic rimis 'rest,' Avestan rāmayeiti 'calms down.' In some languages the meaning is close to that of Ainu, cf. especially Sanskrit rámate 'he/she finds pleasure in, loves, stays still, calms down,' Tocharian A ram, Tocharian B räm 'rests, finds pleasure in, loves.'

AINU airamye 'beloved'; ramosma (dialect 8, Hattori 164: 27), era-

masu (dialects 1, 3, 6, 7), ram 'mind, heart, soul' (dialects 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, Hattori 169: 57).

• BK 598

258. MAKE kur

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kwer-, *khwer- (GI) 'make, form, do,' Sanskrit karóti 'he/she makes, completes,' Avestan kərənaoiti 'does, makes,' Lithuanian kuriù 'make, construct, build,' Old Irish cruth 'form,' Old Church Slavic kručiji 'smith.'
- PROTO-URALIC *kure- 'tie, knot,' Finnish kuro- 'tie,' Saami gorrâ 'tie together,' Proto-Samoyed *kurå 'tie, weave,' Selkup kuriqo 'tie, weave,' Motor kuram 'tie, weave,' Yurak (Tundra) xuras 'fasten securely,' Enets kuraza 'tie up.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *kuri 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building,' Proto-Turkic *Kur- 'to erect (a building), establish,' Old Turkic qur- 'build,' Turkish kur- 'build,' Turkmen gur 'build,' Kumyk kur 'create,' Chuvash xur ~ xor 'place, put.' Middle Mongolian guri- jen 'fenced wall,' Written Mongolian kürijen 'enclosure,' Khalkha xürēn 'enclosure,' Monguor kuraŋ 'enclosure.' Proto-Tungus *kori 'frame, blockhouse, cage, shed,' Nanai, Ulch, Orok qori 'frame, blockhouse,' Manchu xorin 'cage, shed,' Negidal koj 'frame, blockhouse.'
- OLD JAPANESE kuru-wa 'fortress, embarkment, quarter,' modern Japanese kuruwa 'fortress.'

AINU kara 'make, do, act.'

• IS 365, N 236

259. MAN er

- ?Proto-Indo-European *rsén 'male,' Avestan arəšan 'male,' Sanskrit rṣabhá- 'bull, male animal in general'; Proto-Indo-European *u̯ersen 'male,' *wers-en (GI) 'male,' Latin verrēs 'boar,' Avestan varəšna- 'male,' Sanskrit vṛṣan- 'male, man.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *ur3 'male, man,' Finnish uros 'male (of animals), adult man,' Saami vâres 'male animal, a male,' Hungarian úr 'husband, lord.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *įōre 'man,' Proto-Turkic *ēr 'man, husband,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Yakut er, Tatar ir, Chuvash ar, Turkmen är.

Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian ere 'man, male,' Khalkha, Dagur er, Kalmyk erə, Monguor rē. Proto-Tungus *ur 'male, elk (two year old),' Evenki ur 'male,' urikčān 'elk,' Negidal ojčān 'elk.'

?MIDDLE KOREAN olapi 'brother,' modern Korean olabi 'brother.' GILYAK: Amur ar 'male.'

• N 108, BK 427

260. MANY₁ manka

- Proto-Indo-European *men(e)gh 'abundant,' Old Irish meinic(c) 'abundant, frequent,' Old Norse mengi 'multitude,' Old English manig, Gothic manags, Old Church Slavic munogu 'abundant.' Cf. also *meg(h), *meg-(W), *mek'H-(GI) 'large, great,' Hittite mēkkis 'much, many, numerous,' Old Irish maige 'large, great,' Albanian madh, Armenian mec, Sanskrit máhi-, Latin magnus 'large,' mag-is 'more,' Gothic mikils 'great, many,' Tocharian A māk many,' Tocharian B māka 'numerous.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *mone \sim *mune 'much, many,' Finnish moni, Estonian mõni, Saami moanâk 'a good many,' Udmurt -min.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *maŋka 'big, strong,' Proto-Tungus *maŋga 'strong, hard,' Negidal maŋga 'strong,' Manchu, Nanai, Orok maŋga 'strong,' Evenki maŋa 'strong,' Even maŋ 'strong.' Cf. also Proto-Tungus *maŋ(g)ī 'giant, evil spirit.'
- KOREAN mānha 'be many,' mānhi 'much' (MLC 578), mankkum 'as much as.'
- OLD JAPANESE amane- '(be) sufficient,' mane- '(be) many,' Ryukyuan magi-sang 'large.'
- Ainu manka 'be strong' (Dobrotvorskij; dialect 9, Hattori 292: 26). Gilyak mang- 'be strong, able.'
- Chukotian: Chukchi mək, -mk- 'numerous,' Koryak -mk- 'numerous, large,' məkatək 'increase in size or number,' Kamchadal -mk-.
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut amnasu-lix 'to be numerous, many, much,' amnasudim 'many times.'
 - SM 296, IS 348, N 280

261. MANY₂ čok

- PROTO-URALIC *čukk3 'thick, dense,' Cheremis čakata 'thick,' Komi-Zyrian ček 'thick,' Vogul sāw 'much,' Hungarian sok 'much, many.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *č'ak'o ~ *č'ako 'many, be full, enough,' Proto-Turkic *čok 'much, many,' Turkish čok, Azerbaijani čox. Proto-Tungus *čak 'full, strongly,' Manchu čaq seme 'strongly,' Orok čak bi 'full.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean čha- 'be full,' čjok hada 'be sufficient, plenty, enough' (Ramstedt 1949).
- OLD JAPANESE sugu(-ru) 'go too far, exceed,' e.g. tabe-sugi 'overeating,' modern Japanese sugi-ru.
- CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi čik 'completely, very.'
 - IS 331

262. MANY/MUCH mel

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mel- 'strong, big,' Hittite malā(i)- 'approve, be favorable,' Lithuanian malonùs 'nice, pleasant,' Latin melius 'better,' multus 'many,' Greek mâllon 'rather.'
- URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *məlä- 'to end,' Kamassian molu 'entirely,' Yurak (Tundra) măleś 'to end,' male 'already,' Enets moleo 'already.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *miolo 'full, to fill, thick,' Proto-Turkic *bol 'full, abundant,' Kazakh mol 'many, abundantly,' Tatar mul 'abundant,' Chagatai, Turkish, Turkmen, Azerbaijani bol 'large, broad, extended,' Chuvash püle-mes 'tall.' Middle Mongolian mel- ~möl- 'to be full, become full,' Written Mongolian melmeji- 'full,' Khalkha melmij- 'full,' Kalmyk mel 'full.' Proto-Tungus *mila- 'broad, wide open,' Manchu mila 'broad.'
- Korean mol-a 'drive together, hence all in all, in toto' (MLC 643). Old Japanese mor- 'to fill, heap up,' modern Japanese moro- 'heap up,' moro 'all,' Ryukyuan mura 'all, both.'

GILYAK molyo 'be many.'

- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *mel 'good,' *mil- 'good, nice,' Chukchi əməlo 'all,' nə-mel-qin 'good,' Koryak melkytyk 'enough, fill,' Kamchadal mel 'strongly, well,' mel-la-x 'good.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut amnasu- 'be many, much,' Proto-Eskimo

*aməl(ə)ʁa(ʁ)- 'be many,' Alutiiq amləʁ- 'be many,' Central Alaskan Yupik amləq 'much,' Greenlandic amiʁla 'be many.'
• N 278, BK 528, 529

263. MEAT kam

OLD JAPANESE komura 'fleshy part of the leg or arm.'

AINU kam 'flesh'; kam 'meat, flesh' (all dialects, Hattori 93: 9).

Chukotian: Chukchi qametvak 'eat,' qametvan 'food' (Moll), kəm-kəm 'sausage from reindeer meat' (Bogoras 1922).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kəməy 'flesh,' Sirenik kəməx 'flesh, body, skin,' Naukan kəmək 'skin,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kəmək 'flesh,' Greenlandic kimik '(inner) force, power, influence.'

264. MEET mat

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mōd- 'meet, approach,' Old Norse mæta, Old English mētan, Gothic ga-mōtjan, Armenian matč'i 'approach.'

KOREAN mac 'meet, receive, greet' (MLC 593).

JAPANESE mat-u 'wait for, expect.'

• SM 139

265. MIX mes

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mei-k ~ *mi-n-k (present stem also with -s(k)ō), *meik- (W), Greek mígnumi, Latin misceō, Old English miscian, Lithuanian miēšti, Old Church Slavic měsiti, Avestan minašti.

OLD JAPANESE $mazi\Phi u$ 'mix, blend,' $mazi\Phi aru$ 'associate,' modern Japanese majiru 'be mixed.'

266. MOON tuk

URALIC: Finno-Ugric: Baltic: Finnish tähti 'star,' Estonian täht (< täkti).

OLD JAPANESE tuki, modern Japanese tsuki, Ryukyuan tsuchi.

AINU: Sakhalin touki 'sun' (Dobrotvorskij).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut tuyiða- χ .

267. MOSQUITO/FLY mak

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mako- \sim *mok-o- 'gnat, biting fly,' Sanskrit $mákṣ\bar{a}$ 'fly,' $mákṣik\bar{a}$ 'fly, bee,' Lithuanian $m\tilde{a}$ salas, $m\tilde{a}$ katas, Proto-Iranian *masaka- 'fly,' Avestan $maxs\bar{i}$ - 'fly.'

KOREAN mōki 'mosquito' (MLC 628).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Sirenik $mi\eta ca\chi$ 'fly,' Central Alaskan Yupik $maku \nu yaq$ 'mosquito' (Jacobson 1984).

268. MOTH koya

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric * $koje \sim *koja$ 'moth, worm,' Finnish koja, Estonian koi, Saami $k\breve{u}\alpha j\breve{e}$ 'catterpillar,' Mordvin ki 'clothes moth,' Cheremis kije, Udmurt, Ostyak kej, Vogul $k\ddot{a}j$.

ALTAIC: Turkic: Old Turkic $k\bar{u}j\ddot{a}$, Middle Turkish $k\ddot{u}j\ddot{a}$, Uzbek, Oirat kuja. Tungus: Evenki kuja-kta 'gadfly maggot' (Räsänen 1969).

KOREAN kūj-toki 'gnat, mosquito,' kkōy-ta 'swarm of flies, ants, etc.' (MLC 189).

AINU ki 'louse.'

• IS 349, N 167

269. MOUNTAIN pal

Proto-Indo-European *peli-s-, *pelis- (W), *phel- (GI) 'rock, stone,' Old Irish ail (< *pal-i) 'cliff,' Old High German felis 'cliff,' Pashto parṣ̃a 'steep slope,' Kati parṣ̃i 'cliff, mountain,' Sanskrit pāṣ́ī 'stone.'

PROTO-URALIC * $pi\delta e(-k\ddot{a})$ 'high, long,' Finnish $pitk\ddot{a}$ 'long,' Estonian pikk 'long,' Ostyak $p\breve{e}t$ 'high,' Vogul $p\ddot{a}lt$ 'length,' Hungarian fël 'upward, up,' Yurak $pir\acute{c}e$ 'high,' Enets $fid'e \sim fise$ 'high,' Selkup $pirg\ddot{a}$ 'high.'

YUKAGHIR: Chuvan pala 'mountain, stone, escarpment.'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Old Turkic balbal 'heap of stones as a memorial to a dead person,' bäl 'hill, ravine,' Uighur bäl 'hill,' Turkish bäl 'hill' (Räsänen 1969). Tungus: Evenki poraka 'mountain,' porati 'height, peak.'

Japanese: Ryukyuan fira 'hill.'

AINU pira 'cliff'; pira 'rock' (Hattori 208: 9).

GILYAK pal 'forest, mountain.'

- Chukotian: Chukchi pəlvənt 'mountain' (Bogoras 1922), Koryak palpal 'name of a chain of mountains north of the Koryak territory.'
 - BK 36

270. MOUTH pol

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ulo 'cheek,' Middle Mongolian hurul 'lip,' Khalkha urūl 'lip,' Dagur xorōl 'lip,' Monguor urōl lip.' Proto-Tungus *pul 'cheek, corner of the mouth, inner side of the cheek, gum,' Ulch pūli 'cheekbone,' Orok pulči 'inner side of the cheek,' Nanai polpi 'inner side of the cheek,' Manchu fulğin 'cheek,' Negidal xolin 'corner of the mouth.'

MIDDLE KOREAN po-čjokai 'cheek,' modern Korean pol 'cheek' (MLC 803).

OLD JAPANESE popo 'cheek,' modern Japanese hoho 'cheek,' Ryukyuan fofo 'cheek.'

AINU par(a); par (dialect 1-3), čaro (dialect 5-7), paroho (dialect 8), čaru (dialect 9), čaro ~ čaru (dialect 10, Hattori 6: 40). A fair number of roots in Ainu have variants in p and č.

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal p'əlxa $\eta \sim p$ 'əlxa η .

• SM 42

271. MOUTH/OPENING anga

PROTO-URALIC *aŋe 'opening, cavity, incision,' Cheremis äŋ 'mouth (of a river),' Udmurt im 'mouth,' Komi-Zyrian vom 'mouth, opening,' Ostyak uŋ 'mouth,' Hungarian (dial.) aj 'indentation, valley,' Proto-Samoyed *äŋ 'mouth,' Yurak ńa? 'mouth,' Enets na? 'mouth.'

YUKAGHIR: Tundra, Kolyma ana 'opening.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *aŋa 'hole, crack, gape,' Proto-Tungus *aŋa 'hole, crack, open,' *aŋma- (Benzing 38) 'mouth,' Gold aŋma, Lamut amŋa, Evenki aŋa 'mouth,' Even amŋa- 'mouth,' Ulch aŋcala 'hole,' Even āŋa- 'open,' Negidal aŋa 'mouth (of an animal),' Oroch amma 'chin, lower jaw' (Tsintsius I: 45).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ana 'hole.'

GILYAK yng 'mouth, beak.'

Chukotian: Chukchi aŋk 'to open.'

- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut haŋux 'pit, ditch; to dig (a hole),' Proto-Eskimo *aŋva- 'be open,' Sirenik aŋvanəχ 'be open,' Central Siberian Yupik aŋvanəq 'hollow beneath the shoulder blade,' Central Alaskan Yupik aŋpaʁ- 'open (something),' North Alaskan Inuit aŋma- 'be open,' Greenlandic amma- 'be open.'
- IS 358, N 105, BK 465. A variant with the locative suffix -ma or -ba seems also to exist, as in the Inuit forms cited above. Cf. also such Tungus forms as Lamut amŋa, Gold aŋma, Oroch amma 'chin, lower jaw' ('mouth' > 'chin').

272. MUD siba

- PROTO-URALIC *śawe 'clay, mud,' Finnish savi 'clay, mud,' Estonian sau 'clay,' Mordvin śovoń 'clay,' Cheremis šun 'clay,' Komi-Zyrian śun 'clay (blue),' Ostyak săwə 'clay,' Vogul sowl' 'clay, earth.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *sipa 'clay, to smear,' Proto-Turkic *siba- 'smear,' Old Turkic siba- 'smear,' Turkish siva- 'smear.' Middle Mongolian šibar 'clay, smear with clay,' Written Mongolian sibar 'clay,' Khalkha šavar 'clay,' Kalmyk šawr 'clay,' Dagur šaur 'clay.' Proto-Tungus *siba- 'smear (with clay), bog, marsh,' Evenki siwa- 'smear with clay,' Even hiwtay 'bog, marsh,' Manchu šabargan gida- 'to poultice.'
- OLD JAPANESE sapa 'bog, marsh,' sapa-s 'dip, smear with lacquer,' modern Japanese sawa 'bog,' sawas- 'smear with lacquer.'

AINU osoma 'excrement, dung' (Hattori 15: 123).

• IS 348, Poppe 1970: 30, 46, 114, 123.

273. NAME₁ $nim \sim nom$

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(e)nom $n \sim *(o)$ nom $n \sim *n\bar{o}$ mn, *(ə)noə-mn (W), *nom(e/o)n (GI), Hittite lāman, Tocharian B ñem, Latin nōmen, Old English nama, Old High German namo, Gothic namō, Albanian emën, Armenian anun, Sanskrit nāma.
- PROTO-URALIC *nime, Finnish, Estonian nimi, Mordvin l'em, Cheremis ləm, Udmurt ńim, Ostyak nem, Hungarian név, Proto-Samoyed *nim ~ *nüm, Yurak (Tundra), Selkup, Kamassian nim, Yurak (Forest), Tavgy ńim.

Yukaghir: Kolyma niu, Chuvan nyva.

OLD JAPANESE na, modern Japanese na(mae).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi nənnə.

• IS 343, N 317, BK 569

274. NAME₂ at

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *āt, Old Turkic, Tatar at, Turkish, Azerbaijani ad, Turkmen, Yakut āt, Chuvash jat.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo * $at \ni \varkappa$, Sirenik $at \ni \chi$, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik $at \ni q$, North Alaskan Inuit at iq, Greenlandic at iq.

275. NARROW cupa

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *cuppa 'narrow, thin,' Finnish suppa 'thin, narrow,' Saami čoppe 'bag-shaped end of a skin rug for putting the feet in,' Udmurt supeg 'thin, narrow.'

Proto-Altaic *č'ip'o 'narrow, small,' Middle Mongolian *čibda-'thin (of water flow), small,' Khalkha čavdag 'thin.' Proto-Tungus *čipu-, Evenki čipikte, Even čuputi.

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean čop- (MLC 1482).

OLD Japanese tipisa 'small,' modern Japanese chīsa- 'small.'

• SM 299

276. NEW_1 say

ALTAIC: Turkic: Kirghiz saj 'young.' Mongolian saj(a) 'newly, recently' (Räsänen 1969: 394).

MIDDLE KOREAN sai, modern Korean sä ($< *s\bar{a}y$) 'new, fresh' (MLC 919).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese sara 'again, anew.'

• SM 154

277. NEW_2 ud

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric * $wu\delta'e$, Finnish uusi, Estonian uusi, Saami old aa, Mordvin old, Cheremis uw, Udmurt vil', Komi-Zyrian vil', Hungarian ui.

OLD Japanese udu 'rare, valuable, new, curious.'

278. NIGHT nok

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * nek^w -(t)- $\sim *nok^w$ -(t)-, * nek^w -t- (W), * $ne/ok^{hw}t^h$ - (GI), Hittite nekuz 'at night,' Tocharian A nokte 'at night,' Old Irish innocht 'tonight,' Latin nox, Old English neaht, Old High German naht, Gothic nahts, Latvian nakts, Old Church Slavic nošt, Albanian natë.

URALIC: Finnish nukkua 'sleep, lie down.'

OLD JAPANESE nuk- 'take off clothes,' modern Japanese nug- 'take off clothes.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *nki-nki, Chukchi nəkikin, Koryak nəkinək, Aliutor nki, Kamchadal nkənk.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut unuy-ulax 'long ago' (literally, 'not tonight'?), Proto-Eskimo *unnuy, Sirenik unux, Naukan, Alutiiq,
Central Alaskan Yupik unuk, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic
unnuk 'evening.' Cf. also *iŋŋaʁ- 'lie down (to sleep),' Sirenik,
Alutiiq iŋaʁ- 'lie down, go to bed,' Greenlandic innaʁ- 'go to bed'
and Proto-Inuit *anaqa 'later, in the evening,' North Alaskan
Inuit anaqami 'in the evening,' Greenlandic annaket 'later, some
time in the evening.'

279. NOSE kanka

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'ioŋa, Proto-Turkic *K(i)aŋ(-ir)- 'snout, beak, nose,' Turkmen goŋursa 'to reek,' Yakut qaŋinaj 'snuffle.' Middle Mongolian qabar, Written Mongolian qabar ~ qamar, Khalkha, Dagur xamar, Kalmyk xamr, Monguor xavar. Proto-Tungus *xoŋo-, Nanai qoŋtoro, Evenki, Negidal oŋokto, Even oŋət. According to Street and Miller (1975: 39ff.), "a complex of forms in Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus seems to warrant a reconstruction of Proto-Altaic *kaŋ 'nose.'"

MIDDLE KOREAN koh, modern Korean kho (MLC 1673).

OLD JAPANESE kag- 'to smell,' modern Japanese kag-u 'to smell.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal kekŋ, Southern Kamchadal kankan (Radliński).

Proto-Eskimo-Aleut *qəŋa, Proto-Eskimo *qəŋaʁ, Sirenik qəŋəχ, Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik qəŋaq, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic qiŋaq.

• SM 204

280. NOW nu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*n\bar{u}$ -, *nu- (W) 'now' (interpreted as zero-grade of neu 'new'), Hittite, Tocharian A nu, Latin num, Old English, Old Norse, Old High German $n\bar{u}$, Gothic, Avestan, Latvian nu, Sanskrit $n\acute{u}$.

PROTO-URALIC *NükV (Illich-Svitych), Finnish nyt, Estonian nüüd (interpreted as containing locative -t, cf. Finnish ny-ky 'present').

PROTO-ALTAIC *nebi 'new,' Proto-Tungus *nebi 'new, fresh younger (brother or sister),' Orok new ~ neu 'younger,' Ulch neu 'younger,' Even neji 'new, fresh.' Cf. also Proto-Tungus *nē 'now,' Manchu ne 'now, recently,' Udihe nē 'right now,' Ulch ne 'immediately' (Tsintsius 1975–77: 614).

MIDDLE KOREAN $n \rightarrow$ 'younger relative (in compounds),' modern Korean $n \rightarrow$ 'younger brother (in compounds).' Cf. also Korean $-n \dot{i} n$ (topicalizer).

OLD JAPANESE nipi- 'new,' modern Japanese nii 'new.'

AINU nani 'at once, immediately' (dialects 1-5, 9, Hattori 246: 2).

GILYAK nuyi- 'be first,' na-f, nana 'today,' ny(a)x 'today,' Southeast Sakhalin nek 'recently.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *nukas 'younger sibling (of the same sex),' Sirenik nuka 'sister,' Central Alaskan Yupik nukaq 'beaver in the second year; younger sibling,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic nuka(q) 'younger sibling.' Cf. also Proto-Inuit *nukaqliq 'youngest child,' North Alaskan Inuit nukaqliq 'youngest child,' Greenlandic nukasliq 'youngest child.'

• IS 368, N 335, BK 561

281. NURSE (v.)/BREAST melk

Proto-Indo-European *mělĝ- ~ *meləĝ-, *melg- (W), *melk'- (GI) 'to milk,' Greek amélgō 'to milk,' Latin mulgēre 'to milk,' Irish bligim 'to milk,' mlicht 'milk,' Gothic miluks 'milk,' Old Norse mjolka 'to milk,' English 'to milk, milk,' Lithuanian milžti 'to milk,' Old Church Slavic mlěsti 'to milk,' Albanian mjellë 'to milk,' Tocharian A mālk-lune 'milking,' malke 'milk,' Tocharian B malk-wer 'milk.' The Indic form *marź- 'to wipe off, rub' is considered not to be cognate with these forms by Illich-Svitych (1976: 58) and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 569), despite

Pokorny's assertion to the contrary.

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *mälke 'breast,' Proto-Uralic (Illich-Svitych) *mälye 'breast,' Finnish mälvi 'breast of a bird,' Estonian mälv 'breast of a bird,' Saami miel'ka 'middle of the breast,' Mordvin mäLkä 'breast,' Cheremis mel 'breast,' Udmurt məl 'breast,' Ostyak möyəl 'breast,' Vogul māyl 'breast,' Hungarian mell 'breast.'

Yukaghir: Tundra melu-t 'chest,' Chuvan maly-t' 'chest.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *muk'e 'suck,' Proto-Turkic *bök- 'to be satiated, full,' Old Turkic bök- 'be full,' Yakut böyöx 'be full.' Middle Mongolian meke- 'breast (female), suck,' Written Mongolian meke-re- 'move the jaws,' Khalkha mexre- 'move the jaws,' Dagur mek 'breast, to nurse.' Proto-Tungus *muku- 'fill mouth with liquid,' Manchu, Evenki muku- 'fill mouth with liquid,' Negidal moxon 'fill mouth with liquid,' Even muq- 'fill mouth with liquid.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *bjalge 'throat, to swallow,' Middle Mongolian balgu 'to swallow,' Written Mongolian balgu- 'to swallow,' Kalmyk balga- 'to swallow,' Kalmyk balga- 'to swallow,' Regidal bilga 'throat,' Nanai bilga 'throat,' Evenki bilga 'throat,' Negidal bilga 'throat,' Nanai bilga 'throat,' Manchu bilxa 'throat,' Ulch bilša 'throat,' Orok bilda 'throat.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean mok-'eat, drink.'

OLD JAPANESE makanap- 'feed, provide meals,' modern Japanese makana- 'feed.'

Chukotian: Chukchi pilgən 'throat,' Koryak pilgən 'throat,' Kamchadal pilh 'hunger.' Cf. also mačo (stem mačv-) 'breast' (Chukchi I regularly alternates with č; see Volume 1: 59.).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *məluy- 'suck the breast,' *mulə(y) 'nipple, tip,' Kuskokwim milugâ 'sucks it out,' mulik 'nipple,' milûgarâ 'licks (or sucks) it; kisses it (a child),' West Central Inuit miluk 'woman's breast, to suck,' Proto-Inuit *malak ~ *malaq 'front of throat,' North Alaskan Inuit malak 'chest,' Greenlandic malaq 'front of throat.'

• IS 338, N 291, BR 13, BK 552, Ruhlen 1994b

282. OLD_1 pel

Yukaghir: Kolyma polut', Tundra pälur.

PROTO-ALTAIC *piulu 'old, ancient,' Proto-Turkic *bildur 'past time,' Old Turkic bildir 'past time,' Turkmen bildir 'past time,' Yakut bilir 'past time.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha boli- 'become old, weak, cease.' Proto-Tungus *polokta 'old, worn out, last year's,' Evenki holokto 'old, worn out,' Negidal xolokto 'last year's.'

OLD JAPANESE puru-, modern Japanese furu-.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ən-pəl-ən (Bogoras 1922), pəlqatgərgən 'old age,' Koryak pälqät 'grow old' (Bogoras 1917).

283. OLD₂ kara

INDO-EUROPEAN: Hittite karuilli- 'former, of old.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kèru ~ *k'èru 'old, worn out,' Proto-Turkic *Kari 'old, become old, old woman,' Old Turkic qari, Turkish kart, Azerbaijani gari 'old woman,' Turkmen gartan, Yakut kirij- 'become old.' Middle Mongolian *kari- ~ *kar-si- 'become old, weaken,' Written Mongolian qari- 'become old,' Khalkha xari- 'become old.'

OLD JAPANESE kuta- 'be tired, worn out,' modern Japanese kutabire-'be tired.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Yupik: Central Alaskan Yupik akkallaq 'old thing, thing of the past' (Jacobson 1984).

284. ONE oi

Proto-Indo-European *oi-nos, *oi-wo 'only,' *oi-no- (W), *oi-no- ~ *oi-wo- ~ *oi-kh- (GI) 'one,' Avestan aēva-, Gothic, Old Prussian ains, Greek oi-os, Latin ūnus, Old Irish oīn 'only one, single,' Old English ān, Old High German ein, Old Church Slavic ino-, Sanskrit éka-.

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma, Tundra ai 'again, anew, once, more.'

MIDDLE KOREAN oi-rab- 'orphan, lonely,' modern Korean werop 'orphan,' oy 'only, single, one, lone, sole, isolated' (MLC 1220).

285. OPEN₁ (v.) akur

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *Agir´ 'mouth, lip(s), mouth of a river.' Poppe (1960: 95) compares this form with Mongolian ayuri 'steam' and

Korean akuli 'mouth.'

- MIDDLE KOREAN akui 'mouth, a little open,' modern Korean akuli ~ akali 'mouth,' aku 'opening, slit,' akwi 'crotch, fork' (MLC 1066, 1067).
- OLD JAPANESE aku, modern Japanese aku 'to open (intr.), 'ake-ru 'to open (tr.), 'Ryukyuan ak-ing.

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi akvərgən 'hole, opening.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ikiʁ-, Sirenik ikiyžur-, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik ikiʁ-, Greenlandic ikiʁsit- 'open, ajar, spread out.' Cf. also Aleut agi-kuqing 'I open my lips' (Geoghegan), Proto-Eskimo *ayittaʁ- 'open mouth,' Sirenik ayətaʁ- 'to yawn,' Alutiiq aitaʁ- 'open mouth,' Central Alaskan Yupik aitaʁ- 'gape, spread open,' Greenlandic aatsaʁ- 'open mouth, gape.'

• SM 158

286. OPEN₂ (v.) pa(n)te

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pet-, *pet-- (W) 'spread out (the arms),' Latin pateō 'I extend, reach to,' pandō 'I spread out,' Old Welsh etem 'fathom,' Old Prussian pette 'shoulder.'
- PROTO-URALIC *panče- \sim *pače- (the latter reconstruction is based on Cheremis; the first, on other languages, e.g. Vogul), Saami puottsō 'naked, bare,' Mordvin pańže-, Cheremis pača-, Ostyak püņč-, Vogul pōnš-.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ač'V 'to open, split up,' Proto-Turkic *ač-, Uighur, Turkmen, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Turkish (dial.) ač (< *hač), hacik 'open,' Chuvash oś-. Middle Mongolian (h)ača 'bifurcation,' Written Mongolian ača(n) 'bifurcation,' Khalkha ac 'bifurcation.' Proto-Tungus *pač- 'crack, split, interval,' Even hačiq 'crack.'
- OLD JAPANESE pazimu 'begin,' modern Japanese hajimaru 'begin.'
- IS 353. Note the variation between nasal and non-nasal forms in Latin and Uralic, and a reflex of a nasal cluster in Japanese as shown by voicing (nigori).

287. OTHER₁ al

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *alios-, *alyo- (W), Latin alius, alter 'second,' Old Irish aile, Old English elles 'otherwise,' Old High Ger-

man elles, Gothic aljis, Armenian ayl, Tocharian B alyek.

AINU ara 'one of two.'

GILYAK: Amur alv-erq 'behind, on the other side,' Sakhalin alya-f 'behind, on the other side.'

Chukotian: Chukchi aləm 'one of a pair, paired thing,' alvaŋ 'otherwise,' alewlekəŋ 'one after the other, in single file.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut a(a)lax 'two,' Proto-Eskimo *aləκ 'other (of a pair),' Sirenik aləχ 'companion,' Alutiiq aləq '(its) other, companion, placenta,' North Alaskan Inuit alκa(i) 'other one of a pair,' Greenlandic aκla(κ) 'one of them.' Fortescue et al. (1994: 17) report that Bergsland does not consider Aleut a(a)lax 'two' cognate with the Eskimo forms. Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *atla 'other,' Sirenik, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik ala '(an)other,' North Alaskan Inuit alla '(an)other,' Greenlandic alla 'other.'

288. OTHER₂ ena

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ani-os, *h₁en- (MA), Sanskrit anyá-, Avestan anya, Old High German andar, Lithuanian añtras 'other, second.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *ånɔ-, Tavgy anai 'again,' Enets ańi' 'again,' Selkup wenil'.

YUKAGHIR: Tundra, Kolyma jen.

ALTAIC: Mongolian inay 'friend, lover.'

GILYAK ena- 'be other, foreign, affinal relative,' en-f 'another place,' Southeast Gilyak ena- η 'another person.'

Chukotian: Chukchi əna-an 'neighboring tent in the same camp,' əna-alən 'neighbors in camp,' Koryak enajal-yən 'neighbor.'

• For the semantics, cf. Russian drug 'friend,' drugij 'other,' and Alutiiq aləq 'other, companion,' cited above.

289. OTHER₃ qol

GILYAK qal 'change, replace.'

Chukotian: Chukchi qol 'other, one of two,' Kamchadal qula 'other' (Worth).

290. PAIN bal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bheleu- ~ *bhlēu- 'harm,' *bheilu- (W) 'harm,' Proto-Germanic *balwaz 'harm,' Old English bealo 'harm, ruin.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *biāĺ(č)a 'wound, harm,' Proto-Turkic *biāĺ(č) 'wound,' *bāl' 'wound' (Räsänen 1969: 65), Old Turkic baš 'wound,' Turkmen bāš 'wound,' Yakut bās 'wound,' Chuvash püźek 'scar.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian bilčayu 'wound, scar,' Khalkha bálcū 'wound.' Proto-Tungus *bial- 'to harm, damage, be in a different position,' Manchu bele 'harm,' Even beleŋe 'harm,' Evenki bel- 'be in a difficult postion.'

OLD JAPANESE wazapapi 'damage, harm, disaster,' modern Japanese wazawai 'damage.'

AINU ubara 'be in pain or sick.'

291. PALM palan

Proto-Uralic *piŋ3, Finnish pivo, Estonian pihu, Proto-Samoyed *peŋ, Yurak peŋ, Enets pe, Selkup pīŋka, Kamassian pəŋ.

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ālŋa 'palm (of hand),' Proto-Turkic *(h)āja (< *pāŋ́a), Old Turkic aja, Turkmen āja, Yellow Uighur xaja. Middle Mongolian xalagan, Written Mongolian alaya(n), Khalkha alga, Kalmyk alxən, Dagur xaləg, Monguor xalaa. Proto-Tungus *palŋa, *paliŋa (Benzing 45), Nanai pajŋa, Manchu falaŋ-gu, Ulch pańa, Negidal xańŋa, Orok xaŋa, Even hanŋə, Evenki xanŋa.

MIDDLE KOREAN pāl 'armful,' modern Korean pal 'armful.'

• N 369, BK 49. Starostin assumes that Turkic has deleted -l-, thus connecting Turkic with Mongolian and Korean.

292. PERSON₁ $kum \sim kun$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $gh\delta em \sim *gh\delta om$, *dhghem- (W), * $d^h(e)g^hom$ - (GI) 'earth,' Latin $hom\bar{o}$, Gothic, Old English guma 'man,' Old High German gomo 'man,' Lithuanian $\check{z}mu\tilde{o}$.

URALIC: Selkup kum 'man,' Kamassian koŋ 'master.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *Kün 'person, people, country,' Proto-Turkic *kün 'people,' Old Turkic kün 'people.' Middle Mongolian $gu'un \sim Komon$, Written Mongolian kümün, Khalkha xün, Kalmyk kün $\sim k$ ümn, Dagur ku $\sim x$ u, Monguor kun. Proto-Tungus *kün- 'relative, kinsman, name of Manchu clan, name of Evens,' Manchu χ unčixin 'relative,' Even qingalaq 'relative.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kin 'kin, origin,' modern Korean kkin 'kin.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kuni 'country.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal qamzan 'husband.'

293. PERSON₂ sorom

Yukaghir: Kolyma šoromo.

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean sălăm (Ramstedt 1952-57).

294. PERSON₃ mon

Indo-European: Proto-Indo-European *manu(-s) \sim *monu(-s), *man- (W), *manu- (GI) 'man,' Sanskrit mánu \sim mánuṣ 'man, person,' Gothic manna 'man,' Old High German mann, English man (plural men), woman (< wife + man), Old Church Slavic možĭ (< *mon-g-jo-), Russian muž 'husband.'

Proto-Uralic (Illich-Svitych) *mäńće 'man, person'; Ugric: Vogul mɛńći ~ mańśi (self-name), Ostyak mańt' ~ mońt' ~ mɔś ~ maś (self-name of one Ostyak clan), Hungarian magyar (self-name); Finnic: Finnish mies, Estonian mees. Cf. also Proto-Uralic (Illich-Svitych) *mińä 'daughter-in-law,' Finnish miniä 'daughter-in-law,' Saami mânje- 'daughter-in-law,' Udmurt ići-meń 'younger brother's wife,' Vogul mĭń 'daughter-in-law,' Ostyak meń 'daughter-in-law,' Proto-Samoyed (Illich-Svitych) *mējV 'daughter-in-law,' Yurak mēje 'daughter-in-law,' Enets mī 'daughter-in-law,' Kamassian mēji 'daughter-in-law.'

OLD JAPANESE (wo-)mina 'woman,' modern Japanese onna 'woman.' AINU meno(-ko) \sim mene(-ko) 'woman.'

• N 292, 301, BR 15, BK 542. It is interesting that Illich-Svitych reconstructed two roots, *mänV 'man, male' and *mińä 'woman, female relative,' which appear to show the same vowel contrast—a 'strong, masculine' vs. e 'weak, feminine'—seen in the roots for

OLDER BROTHER (No. 51) and OLDER SISTER (No. 340).

295. PIERCE₁ tel

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *dhelg- 'pierce, sting, needle,' Old Irish delg 'needle, pin,' Latin falx 'curved blade,' Old English dalc 'bracelet,' Lithuanian dilgùs 'stinging.' This is probably a root extension of *dhel- 'hollow.'

Proto-Altaic *t'uli ~ *t'oli 'pierce, skewer,' Proto-Tungus *tule- 'skewer,' Negidal, Nanai, Ulch, Orok, Evenki tule 'skewer,' Even tul 'skewer.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *telV 'split, strike,' Proto-Turkic *del- ~ *del- 'bore through, cut, open, make holes,' Old Turkic tel- 'bore through,' teš 'make holes,' Turkish del- 'cut,' deš- 'make holes,' delik 'hole,' Azerbaijani del- 'cut,' Yakut tel- 'open,' tes- 'make holes.' Middle Mongolian delet- 'strike, beat, hit,' Written Mongolian deled- 'strike,' Khalkha dele- 'strike,' Kalmyk del- 'strike.' Proto-Tungus *del- 'split, divide, be divided,' Evenki, Nanai delki- 'split,' Even delkə 'split,' Manchu dende 'split,' delxe 'be divided.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tal'o.

OLD JAPANESE tura-nuk-, modern Japanese tsuranuk-u.

GILYAK t'oli 'pierce through.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal til- 'stab.'

• BK 79

296. PIERCE₂ kap

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*(s)k\bar{e}p \sim *(s)k\bar{o}p \sim *(s)k\bar{a}p \sim *(s)kobh \sim *(s)k\bar{a}b$, *(s)kep- (W) 'cut with a sharp tool, scratch, shave,' Latin $scab\bar{o}$ 'I shave, scratch,' Old English scafan 'shave,' English shape, Gothic skaban 'shear,' Latvian $skab\hat{i}t$ 'hew off,' Old Church Slavic $skobl\tilde{i}$ 'scraping knife.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kopV 'to plane, whet,' Proto-Turkic *kobĺa- 'to sharpen, plane,' Old Turkic qovša 'sharpen, plane,' Turkish qovuš 'sharpen.' Middle Mongolian kobiki 'a kind of chisel with a grooved blade,' Written Mongolian qobki 'chisel,' Khalkha xovki 'chisel.' Proto-Tungus *kuba- 'plane, scrape,' Negidal kowa- 'scrape,' Even quwun 'scraper,' Evenki kuwa 'scrape,' Manchu quwa-fixa- 'scrape,' Orok quwai 'plough.'

GILYAK k'yv 'cut down.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kapə- 'stab,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kapə- 'stab, poke,' North Alaskan Inuit kapi- 'stab, pierce,' Greenlandic kapi- 'stab, pierce.' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *kapuʁ- 'stab repeatedly,' Sirenik kapuɣ- 'pierce with an awl,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kapuʁ- 'stab or poke repeatedly,' North Alaskan Inuit kapuq- 'spear repeatedly,' Greenlandic kapuʁ- 'stab several times' and Proto-Eskimo *kapputə- 'stick into,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kaputə- 'stick into,' Greenlandic kapput(i)- 'stick into.'

297. PIERCE₃ tek

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)teig-, *steig- (W) 'to prick, point,' Latin <u>īn-stīgō</u> 'goad,' Old English stician 'prick,' Old High German sticken 'stick, stab,' Gothic stiks 'sticking, stab,' Sanskrit téjate 'is sharp.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *tek3- 'push, shove, kick, hit,' Finnish työntä 'push, shove,' Komi-Zyrian toj- 'push,' Ostyak töki- 'fill, stuff,' Vogul täy- 'push,' Hungarian tűz- 'pin on, fasten on.'
- Proto-Altaic *tok'V 'plait, weave,' Proto-Turkic *doku- 'weave,' Old Turkic toqu- 'weave,' Turkish doku- 'weave.' Proto-Tungus *duku 'to plait,' Negidal dukte- 'to plait,' Nanai, Ulch dū- 'to plait.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *t'ok'u ~ *t'oku 'hit, knock, beat,' Proto-Turkic *toki- 'hit, knock, strike,' Old Turkic toqi- 'hit,' Turkish doku- 'hit,' Azerbaijani toxu- 'hit,' Turkmen doki- 'hit.' Middle Mongolian togsi- 'strike, beat,' Written Mongolian toysi- 'strike,' Khalkha togši- 'strike,' Dagur tokšōr 'hammer.' Proto-Tungus *tokta 'hit, knock, chop,' Negidal, Nanai, Evenki tokto 'chop,' Manchu toq seme 'sound of knocking.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN thi- 'hit, strike, beat.' Cf. also Middle Korean $thir\sim tah$ 'loom, to plait,' Modern Korean thir 'loom,' tah- 'to plait.'
- OLD JAPANESE tuk-u 'hit, strike, beat,' modern Japanese tsuk-u 'hit.' Cf. also Old Japanese tog- 'grow, protrude,' modern Japanese toge 'thorn, splinter,' togaru 'be pointed.'
- AINU $tok \sim tuk$ 'extend, upward, project.'

298. PLAIT (v.) pin

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)pen-(d)-, *spen-(W) 'draw, spin,' Latvian pinu 'weave,' Lithuanian pinti 'weave, plait, braid,' Old English, Old High German, Gothic spinnan 'spin,' English spindle, Old Church Slavic pĭno 'tighten,' Albanian pe 'thread,' Armenian henum 'weave,' Tocharian B pänn- 'draw (out), stretch.'
- PROTO-URALIC *puna- 'spin, plait, weave,' Finnish puno- 'turn, twist,' Estonian punu-, Saami bâdne- 'spin,' Mordvin pona- 'plait, braid,' Cheremis pəne-, Udmurt pun- 'wind, weave,' Komi-Zyrian pin- 'braid,' Ostyak ponəl- 'twist (yarn), twine (thread),' Vogul pon- 'wind,' Hungarian fon- 'spin, braid,' Proto-Samoyed *pən 'weave,' Yurak paŋkāl- 'twist, braid,' Selkup panpa- 'braid.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'iuŋi 'twist, twirl,' Proto-Turkic *eŋir- 'spin, surround,' Old Turkic eŋir- 'spin.'
- OLD Japanese piner- 'twirl, twist,' modern Japanese hiner- 'twist.'
 IS 354

299. POLE saw

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *śawŋa 'staff, pole,' Finnish sauva 'staff,' Estonian (dial.) sau 'staff,' Saami čaw'gŋe 'pole,' Ostyak sŏy 'staff,' Vogul suw 'staff.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *siōba 'a kind of stick,' Proto-Tungus *sōba 'bough, stick,' Negidal sōwa 'stick,' Nanai sogbin 'stick.'

OLD JAPANESE sawo 'rod, beam, pole,' modern Japanese sao.

300. POUR₁ ku

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * \hat{g} heu, *gheu- (W) 'pour,' Armenian joyl 'poured,' Latin $f\bar{u}t$ is 'pitcher,' Tocharian A, B ku-.

GILYAK ky- 'fall (snow, rain).'

?CHUKOTIAN: Koryak kuvlat-ək 'roll down, slide down.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut kum- 'pour out,' Proto-Eskimo *kuvə- 'pour, spill,' Sirenik, Naukan, Central Alaskan Yupik kuvə- 'pour out, spill,' Alutiiq kuyə- 'pour out, spill,' North Alaskan Inuit kuvi- 'spill, pour out,' Greenlandic kui- 'pour.'

301. POUR₂ pes

INDO-EUROPEAN: Hittite pessija- 'throw.'

PROTO-FINNO-VOLGAIC *pisa- ~ *piśa- 'drip (v.),' Finnish pisara 'drip,' Estonian pisar 'drip,' Mordvin piźe- 'drip.'

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma pešei 'throw.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'jusi 'sprinkle,' Middle Mongolian hösür- 'pour, sprinkle,' Written Mongolian ösür- 'sprinkle,' Khalkha üsre- 'sprinkle,' Kalmyk ösr- 'sprinkle,' Monguor fuzuru. Proto-Tungus *pisu- ~ *pusu 'sprinkle,' Ulch pisuri- 'sprinkle,' Orok pisitči 'sprinkle,' Nanai pisi- ~ fisi- 'sprinkle,' Manchu fisi- ~ fusu- 'drench,' Negidal xusi 'sprinkle,' Evenki husu- 'sprinkle.'

MODERN KOREAN pūs- 'pour' (MLC 845).

• Poppe 11, IS 332, N 340

302. POUR₃ tekw

Proto-Indo-European *tek*, *thekh*- (GI) 'flow, run,' Lithuanian tekù 'flow (of water), run,' Old Church Slavic teko 'run,' Russian tekú 'flow.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *tiuk'e ~ *tiuke, Proto-Turkic * $d\ddot{o}k$ - 'pour out,' Old Turkic $t\ddot{o}k$ - 'pour out,' Turkish, Turkmen $d\ddot{o}k$ - 'pour out,' Chuvash $t\dot{o}k$ - 'pour out,' Yakut tox, Chagatai $t\ddot{o}k$.

MIDDLE KOREAN tahi-.

OLD JAPANESE tuk-, modern Japanese tsugu. Cf. also modern Japanese tokeru 'melt, dissolve.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *ciiq- 'ooze out,' North Alaskan Inuit siiq- 'ooze, seep (like a sore), sweat, perspire,' Labrador Inuit siiq- 'let dampness go through.'

303. PULL pik

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pek-, *pek- (W), *phekh- (GI) 'pluck the hair, fleece,' Lithuanian pešù 'pull, tear out, pluck (fowl),' Old English feax '(head) hair,' Latin pectō 'I comb.'

Japanese hik-u (< pik-u), Ryukyuan fīč-ung.

GILYAK p'uk 'to tow,' with object, ifk.

304. RAIN₁ ama

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ame.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *amisluq 'cloud,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik amisluq 'cloud.'

305. RAIN₂ ali

PROTO-ALTAIC *ála 'hail, ice,' Proto-Tungus *(x)al-dan 'frazil (in spring, close to shore),' Negidal aldan 'frazil.'

MIDDLE KOREAN əl- 'freeze,' əlim 'ice,' modern Korean al- \sim əl- 'freeze,' əlim 'ice.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese arare 'hail.'

GILYAK lyj 'thunder,' ly-x 'rain, weather.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi iliil ~ ilət 'rain,' əl- 'to snow,' ile(-t-ik) 'to rain,' Koryak al?al 'to snow.'

306. RAISE kot

PROTO-ALTAIC *kot'i 'lift, raise,' Proto-Turkic *göt- 'rise, raise,' Old Turkic kötür-, Turkish götür-, Tatar kütär-, Azerbaijani göt-, Turkmen göter-, Yakut köt-, kötör 'bird.' Middle Mongolian kötü- 'be high, hill,' Written Mongolian köteji 'be high,' Kalmyk kötī- 'be high,' Monguor k'udor 'hill.' Proto-Tungus *kutu- 'to drag, mountain-rising,' Even kötəŋe 'mountain-rising.' GILYAK xiti-, West Sakhalin xiti-nč (Glehn).

 \bullet This may be the widespread ka 'above, surface' with causative -t.

307. RECEIVE uk

PROTO-ALTAIC *uku 'take, grasp,' Proto-Turkic *ug-ra- \sim *ug-ur- 'meet,' Old Turkic ugra- 'meet,' Turkish uyra- 'meet,' Turkmen ugra- 'meet,' Middle Mongolian uhtu- 'meet,' Written Mongolian uytu- 'meet,' Khalkha ugta- 'meet,' Dagur ortu- 'meet.' Proto-Tungus *oka- 'armful, handful,' Manchu oxolō 'handful,' Negidal oxodo 'armful,' Nanai oxoj 'handful.'

MIDDLE KOREAN uhii- 'take, grasp.'

OLD JAPANESE uk- 'get, receive,' modern Japanese ukeru.

AINU uk 'take, acquire, accept.'

• The Ainu form may be a borrowing from Japanese.

308. RED per ∼ pal

PROTO-ALTAIC *pule ~ *p'ule ~ *pule ~ *p'ule, Middle Mongolian xula'an, Written Mongolian ulayan, Khalkha, Kalmyk ulān, Dagur xulān, Monguor fulān. Proto-Tungus *pula-, Manchu fulgan, Nanai folgā(n), Evenki xula-ma.

MIDDLE KOREAN pɨlk-, modern Korean pu(l)k-.

AINU fure.

GILYAK par 'red-haired.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi mul 'blood,' Koryak mollinto-k 'to bleed.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut hulangsa- χ 'rosy, red-cheeked,' huli-lix 'to get red in the face.'

• Poppe 1960: 12. *l* usually remains in Gilyak.

309. RISE/SKY $kal \sim kel$

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kel- 'raise up, raise high,' Greek kolónē 'hill,' Latin celsus 'high, exalted,' collis 'hill,' Lithuanian keliù 'I raise,' English hill.

PROTO-ALTAIC *kela ~ *k'ela ~ *kelo ~ *k'elo 'rise, jump up, soar,' Proto-Turkic *Kal(i)- 'rise, jump up,' Old Turkic qali- 'rise,' Turkmen gal- 'rise,' Yakut kilij- 'rise.' Middle Mongolian *kali- 'fly, soar,' Written Mongolian qali- 'fly,' Khalkha xali- 'fly,' Kalmyk xälə- 'fly.' Cf. Tungus: Manchu galgan 'clear sky, fine weather' (Räsänen 1969).

JAPANESE: Ryukyuan guru 'shower' (for the semantics cf. Japanese ame 'heaven, rain').

GILYAK kalyal- 'be light, visible, illuminated.'

Chukotian: Koryak aja-kyl?at 'be illuminated,' Kamchadal ikul-khalle 'day.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut qilam 'in the morning,' qilayan 'tomorrow,' Proto-Eskimo *qilay 'sky,' Sirenik qiləx 'sky,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik qilak 'sky,' North Alaskan Inuit qil^yak 'sky, roof, ceiling,' Greenlandic qilak 'sky.'

• IS 335, N 210, BK 294, 305

310. RIVER₁ urus

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *uer, *wer- (W) 'water, flow, river,' *(w)ers- (W) 'to be wet,' Luwian $w\bar{a}r(sa)$ 'water,' Latin $\bar{u}r\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{r}$ 'plunge into water,' Old Norse $\bar{u}r$ 'fine rain,' Old English $\bar{u}rig$ 'moist,' Old Prussian wurs 'pool,' Avestan $v\bar{a}r$ 'rain,' Sanskrit $v\bar{a}r(i)$ 'water, rain.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *ar3 'water, swampy place,' Finnish aro 'steppe,' Estonian aru 'dry land,' Ostyak ura 'pond,' Vogul orāj 'channel.'

Proto-Altaic *orusi 'river, to flow,' *ūr 'flow' (Poppe 1960: 102), Proto-Turkic *örs(en) 'river, to flow,' Azerbaijani öz- 'flow,' Turkmen özen, Chuvash vazan, Yakut örüs 'river.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian urus- 'to flow,' Khalkha ursa- 'to flow,' Dagur orsu- 'to flow,' Monguor urosə 'to flow.' Cf. Tungus: Evenki ūrigdan 'flow (n).'

OLD Japanese uru-p- 'be wet, clouded, moist,' ura 'bay, inlet, creek, gulf,' modern Japanese urum- 'be wet, to soak.'

?AINU ru 'melt.'

GILYAK eri.

311. RIVER₂ nay

PROTO-ALTAIC *najrV 'river, lake,' Middle Mongolian na'ur ~ nāwor 'sea,' Written Mongolian nayur 'lake,' Khalkha, Kalmyk, Monguor nūr 'lake,' Dagur naur 'lake.' Proto-Tungus *niāru 'lake, swamp,' Manchu ńari 'swamp,' Nanai niaro 'swamp,' Evenki ńārut 'lake.'

MIDDLE KOREAN nāi, modern Korean nā (MLC 315).

AINU nay; nay (dialect 9), nay 'mountain stream' (dialects 1-6, 8, Hattori 215: 24, 26).

GILYAK ηyj 'gulf, shallow river, brook,' ηyju 'brook,' Sakhalin nnjiju (Glehn), Tym naiju.

312. ROAD telu

AINU ru; tru (Dobrotvorskij).

GILYAK t'ri 'road from inhabited area to the river bank.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi təlan 'road, path,' təl 'to travel,' Koryak təlanə.

• Cf. RUN₂

313. ROAST čira

PROTO-URALIC *šorwa 'dry, dry up, become dry,' Saami soar'vo 'turn into dead pine, wither,' Komi-Zyrian šural- 'dry up,' Proto-Samoyed *t'irå- 'dry (intr.),' Yurak (Tundra) tiřrā- 'become dry.'

ALTAIC: Mongolian šira- (< *sira-). Tungus: Evenki sila (< *sira) 'roast on a spit,' Even hil, Manchu šolo (Poppe 1960: 30).

AINU čire 'overburn, burn, cook.'

• IS 366

314. RUB silu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)lei- 'slippery, smooth,' Latin linō 'I smear, annoint,' Old English līm 'lime, mortar,' Old High German slīmen 'to polish.'

PROTO-URALIC *silV (Illich-Svitych) 'smooth, slippery.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *sīla 'to rub, clean,' Proto-Turkic *sīl- ~ *sīla- 'rub, wipe,' Old Turkic, Turkish sil- 'rub, wipe,' Turkmen sīl-, Chuvash šəl- 'rub, wipe.' Middle Mongolian silu- 'rub off, peel,' Written Mongolian silu- ~ šulu- 'rub off,' Khalkha šula- 'rub off,' Kalmyk šul- 'rub off,' Monguor šuli- 'rub off.' Proto-Tungus *silkü- 'wash, clean,' Evenki silki- 'wash,' Nanai silqo- 'wash,' Ulch silču 'wash,' Manchu silga- 'wash.'

MIDDLE KOREAN səl- 'wash, clean.'

OLD JAPANESE suru 'rub, scour,' modern Japanese suru 'chafe, rub.' AINU siru 'polish' (dialects 1–2, 5–8, Hattori 129: 16).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *cili- ~ *cili- 'sharpen,' Naukan siluak 'whetstone,' Central Alaskan Yupik *cəli- 'sharpen, whet,' North Alaskan Inuit sil'i- 'sharpen, whet,' Greenlandic sili- 'sharpen.'

• IS 365

315. RUN_1 pas

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'asa ~ *pasa 'run, hurry,' Middle Mongolian hesüre- 'jump, leap,' Written Mongolian üsür- 'jump,' Khalkha üsre- 'jump,' Dagur xes(u)re- 'jump.' Proto-Tungus *pasi- 'hurry

(n. and v.),' Manchu fači-xin 'hurry,' Even hasul- 'hurry.'

MIDDLE KOREAN paspa- 'be hurried,' pačh- 'make hurry,' modern Korean pap:i- 'be hurried,' pap:i-ha- 'make hurry.'

OLD Japanese pasir, modern Japanese hashir- 'run, drive.' AINU pas \sim čas.

316. RUN₂ tele

MIDDLE KOREAN tal'i- 'to ride quickly,' modern Korean talli- 'run, rush, hurry' (MLC 405).

AINU tere-ke 'jump, spring'; ter-ke 'jump' (dialects 1–8, Hattori 22: 186), ioteri-ke 'jump' (dialect 10).

GILYAK tloi.

- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *θəle- 'walk,' Chukchi tili-k 'flow,' təle-k 'go, move,' Koryak tajl- 'move,' telegəjŋən 'movement,' Palana Koryak tyle-k 'go, move,' Aliutor tili 'leave (tr.),' Kamchadal tali 'go,' telp 'run.'
 - Cf. COME₂.

317. RUN_3 pok

Proto-Indo-European *bheug-, *bheugh- (GI) 'flee,' Latin fugiō 'I flee,' Lithuanian búgstu 'be frightened,' Greek pheúgō 'flee.' Cf. also *bhegu 'run away.'

PROTO-URALIC *pukta 'run, jump, hop,' Cheremis pokte- 'drive, push, chase away,' Ostyak pot- 'run away,' Hungarian fut- 'run, run away,' Selkup pakta- 'jump,' Kamassian baktə- 'come.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma pog.

- PROTO-ALTAIC *pok'i ~ *poki 'run, run away,' Middle Mongolian bög-si- 'to run (slowly), trot, run (as a hare),' Written Mongolian bögsi-, Kalmyk bökšə-. Proto-Tungus *pukti- 'run, gallop,' *pökti 'run, run away' (Benzing 22), Manchu feksi-, Evenki hukti-, Even hötu.
- ?Modern Japanese fuke (colloquial) 'run away, flee.' This Japanese form is dubious because of its late fixation.
- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *peqə- 'run on all fours,' Chukchi pɛqə-, Koryak paqə-tku-, Western Kamchadal pəkə-lexin 'be wild.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *pəkiaq 'go out quickly,' North Alaskan Inuit pikiaq- 'jump up suddenly and bolt, gush out (wa-

- ter),' Greenlandic *pikiaʁ- 'come up out of water (diving bird),' pikiala- 'gush forth (water).'
- N 15

318. RUN₄ kama

- GILYAK: Amur qama ~ kamač (Schrenck), West Sakhalin kamma-nt (Glehn).
- Chukotian: Chukchi kamayra-k 'move, stir,' Koryak kame-k 'move,' Kamchadal ximst ~ xamst (Worth).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qimay- 'run away,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik qimay- 'run away,' North Alaskan Inuit qimak- 'flee, leave behind,' Greenlandic qimay- 'leave, go away,' qimaa- 'flee.'

319. RUN₅ ker

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kers-, *kers- (W), Latin currō 'I run,' Middle High German hurren 'hasten,' *kṛso-s, *kers- (W) 'wagon,' Old Irish carr 'vehicle, wagon,' Latin currus 'chariot, wagon.' Cf. also *(s)ker- 'jump, jump about.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kare 'run away' (Dolgopolsky), Finnish karata 'run away,' Proto-Samoyed *kürə- 'run, go, walk, move,' Enets simî, Selkup šórmba, Kamassian šurl'ɛm.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *kure ~ *kuri, Proto-Turkic *Küre- 'run away,' Old Turkic küre 'run away,' Yakut küre- 'run away.' Middle Mongolian kur(u)- 'to hurry, rapid, quick,' Written Mongolian qurui- 'to hurry,' Khalkha xurdan 'quick,' Dagur xordun 'quick,' Monguor gurdən 'quick.' Proto-Tungus *kora- 'drive away,' Even koro- 'drive away.' Cf. also Turkic: Kazakh karyy 'hop.' Mongolian: Mongol karai 'jump,' Dagur kariee 'jump.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN kilk- 'run away, escape,' modern Korean ki(l)k- 'run away.'
- AINU kira 'run away'; kira (dialects 1–5, 7–9, Hattori 75: 38), kira'an (dialect 6).
- GILYAK: Sakhalin kirki-nt 'hop' (Glehn).
- Chukotian: Koryak kəlav- 'on the run,' Palana Koryak kəlavəlhatək 'to run.'

320. SABLE nuk

Proto-Uralic *ńukśe (*ńukś-śż) 'sable, marten,' Finnish nokko, Estonian nugis 'tree marten,' Udmurt naź, Komi-Zyrian ńiź, Ostyak ńŏyżs, Vogul ńoks, Hungarian nyuszt 'marten,' Yurak noxo 'arctic fox.'

Yukaghir noxšo.

ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus *ŋōke 'sable, male (of a dog, fox), wolf, racoon,' Evenki ńēkē, Manchu ńoxe 'wolf,' nuxere 'puppy,' Even ŋōke 'male (of dog, fox, wolf).'

MIDDLE KOREAN nəkori 'badger,' modern Korean nəguri 'badger.'

321. SAIL (v.) maru

JAPANESE maru 'ship.'

GILYAK: Amur mry, Sakhalin mra.

322. SAME sem

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *sem- 'one, together, with,' Sanskrit samá 'like, the same,' simáḥ 'self,' Armenian mi 'one,' Latin simul 'at the same time,' Old English sum 'one, a certain one,' Tocharian A sam 'one (fem.).'

AINU sem 'the same,' sam-pa 'side, like,' sama-ta 'again, beside this' (-ta is a locative suffix; see Volume 1: 155–57), sam 'nearby, close to' (dialects 1–3, 5–8, Hattori 235: 10).

• Ruhlen 1994c, BK 184. See Volume 1: 252.

323. SAND kum

PROTO-URALIC *kum3 'thin snow,' Udmurt kim 'thin snow,' Hungarian hó 'snow,' Yurak χaw? 'snow,' Kamassian kamo 'snow crust.'

YUKAGHIR ku 'snow.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kiumo 'sand, dust,' Proto-Turkic *Kum, Old Turkic qum, Turkish, Uighur, Chagatai kum, Tatar kom, Azerbaijani, Turkmen gum, Yakut kumaq. Middle Mongolian qumaqi ~ xumaki '(grains of) sand, earth,' Written Mongolian qumay ~ qumaki, Khalkha xumag ~ xumxi 'grain of sand.' Proto-Tungus *küme ~ *kime 'shore, sand beach,' Even kimewun.

GILYAK: East Sakhalin $qom\check{r}$, West Sakhalin $komer \sim komyt$ (Altaic borrowings) (Glehn).

• IS 362

324. SCOLD sike

PROTO-ALTAIC *sūjk'i 'to curse,' Proto-Turkic *sōk 'to curse, swear,' Old Turkic sök- 'curse,' Turkmen *sōg 'to curse,' Yakut üöx- 'to curse.' Middle Mongolian sögē- 'to curse, rebuke,' Written Mongolian sögege- 'to curse,' Khalkha söxö- 'to curse.' Cf. also Written Mongolian šoy 'joke,' Dagur čok 'joke.' Proto-Tungus *sojko- 'to curse, to caper,' Manchu sujxu- 'caper,' Nanai soqola- 'to curse,' Orok soqodo- 'caper.'

OLD JAPANESE sikar- 'scold, reprove,' modern Japanese shikar- 'to curse.'

Ainu sikeske 'ill treat, speak ill of,' sikaste 'treat with disdain'; ko-sakayokar 'scold, berate' (dialects 2, 3, Hattori 73: 24).

325. SEA ki

GILYAK ki (Tailleur 1960, no. 74, citing Shternberg and Austerlitz).

Chukotian: Kamchadal qix, Southern Kamchadal kyga, Western, Northern Kamchadal kig 'river' (Krasheninnikov).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kuðəy 'river,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kuik 'river,' Greenlandic kuuk 'river.'

326. SEASON/YEAR pon

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma pon 'nature, time, evening, weather' (Krejnovich 1958: 33), Chuvan pon 'weather, earth.'

PROTO-ALTAIC * $punV \sim *p'unV \sim *ponV \sim *p'onV$ 'year, spring, summer,' Middle Mongolian hon, Monguor fon \sim hon, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Kalmyk on, Dagur $x\bar{o}n$. Proto-Tungus *pune- 'time, period,' Manchu fon 'season,' Nanai fo 'season,' Ulch punele 'south.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean pom (< *pon) 'spring, spring-time' (MLC 804).

• Poppe 1960: 11, 69, 99, 153, 155.

327. SEE₁ tak

Proto-Uralic *att3- 'see, look,' Udmurt ut'-, Proto-Samoyed *ətə-, Tavgy adi'ema, Enets ori 'visible,' Selkup atiqo 'be visible,' Kamassian əd-.

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'oga 'see, be aware,' Middle Mongolian to'an 'to count,' Written Mongolian toya- 'pay attention,' toya(n) 'to count,' Khalkha, Buriat, Kalmyk $t\bar{o}$ - 'pay attention to,' Monguor $t\bar{o}$ 'number, count.' Proto-Tungus *tuga- \sim *tuba- 'see, check, beware,' Even tewuŋči 'beware,' Manchu $t\bar{a}$ -, Ju-chen $ton\check{z}u$ -lar 'check (v.).'

OLD JAPANESE takum- 'to plan, consider,' modern Japanese takuram- 'consider.'

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal te 'appear.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *taku 'see, check on,' Sirenik takə'find,' Alutiiq taku- 'check out,' Central Alaskan Yupik taku'check, net, trap, snare,' North Alaskan Inuit taku- 'visit, check
on,' takkun 'pupil of the eye,' Greenlandic taku- 'see.'

328. SEE₂ neke

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *näke- 'see, look,' Finnish näke, Estonian näge-, Saami niekko 'dream,' Mordvin ńeje, Udmurt naal-, Ostyak ni- 'visible,' Vogul niyl- 'become visible,' Hungarian néz-.

Korean nəki ~ ńəki (Ramstedt 1949).

OLD JAPANESE nagamë 'gazing, contemplation,' modern Japanese nagameru 'watch, look at, see.'

329. SEE_3 sik

Proto-Altaic *siga 'to look, search,' Middle Mongolian šiya 'to look, spy,' Written Mongolian sigiya 'look,' Khalkha šagā- 'look,' Kalmyk šayā- 'look,' Dagur šigē- 'look,' Monguor sce- 'look.' Proto-Tungus *sig- 'to peep, look out, spy, appear,' Negidal, Evenki siyin- 'look out, spy,' Manchu ša 'look out,' Ulch si-len 'look out.'

MIDDLE KOREAN čhač- 'look for, search.'

OLD Japanese sagur- 'to search,' modern Japanese $saguru \sim sagasu$ 'to search.'

AINU sik 'eye.'

330. SEED al

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *al- 'grow,' Latin alō 'I nourish,' alēscō 'I grow,' Old Norse ala 'nourish,' Gothic, Old English alan 'grow.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *al'V 'fresh crops, germinated seeds,' Proto-Turkic *(i)al'- 'seed, cereals, crops,' Tatar aš ~ aš-liq, Yakut as 'fruit of some wild plants, berry.' Middle Mongolian (h)alir-su 'chaff, fresh grass, blueberry, bilberry, cranberry,' Written Mongolian alisu 'chaff,' Khalkha alirs 'blueberry,' Kalmyk älsn 'chaff.' Proto-Tungus *alu- 'currents, grass grown on a burned or empty ground, a kind of berry,' Negidal aloj 'currents,' Ulch ālu 'currents,' Orok allu 'currents,' Evenki aluy 'currents.'

KOREAN al 'egg.' Also a counter for small things, e.g. a grain, a berry (MLC 1088).

• IS 354, N 123, BK 380

331. SEIZE₁ kap

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kap- \sim *ghabh-, * k^hap^h - (GI), Latin $capi\bar{o}$ 'I take,' Gothic haban 'have, hold,' Old English habban 'have,' Albanian kap 'catch, grab, seize.'

URALIC: Finnish kaappaa, Mordvin kapude-, Udmurt kab-, Hungarian kapa 'seize, obtain.'

Proto-Altaic *k'ap'V 'grasp, press,' Proto-Turkic *Kap- 'take, snatch,' Old Turkic, Yakut qap- 'take,' Turkish kap 'take,' Azerbaijani, Turkmen gap- 'take,' Chuvash xap- 'take.' Middle Mongolian yabči- 'hold, grasp, squeeze, pinch,' Written Mongolian qabla- 'grasp,' Khalkha xavči- 'grasp,' Kalmyk xapčə- 'grasp,' Dagur karči- 'grasp.' Proto-Tungus *xap-ki- 'strangle, throttle,' Negidal apku- 'strangle,' Orok xaqpi- 'strangle,' Evenki apki- 'strangle.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean kaps 'price' (MLC 57).

OLD JAPANESE kap- 'buy,' modern Japanese ka- 'buy.'

GILYAK: Amur kip (Schrenck), Eastern Sakhalin kep 'handle,' kips 'handle of a hammer.'

• SM 36, IS 371, N 190, BK 242

332. SEIZE₂ kem

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *gem- 'seize (with both hands), grasp,'

Lithuanian gùmstu 'seize, grasp,' Old Church Slavic žimo 'press,' Armenian čmlem 'press together.'

PROTO-URALIC *kom3(r3) 'hollow of the hand, palm,' Saami goabmer 'the two curved hands put together to receive or catch something,' Mordvin komoro 'handful,' Komi-Zyrian kamir 'handful,' Yurak s'ewāj 'arm,' Enets chámmara 'hand,' Selkup kaams 'arm,' Kamassian kāməru? 'arm.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kamu- (Illich-Svitych) 'seize, take, squeeze,' Proto-Turkic *Kam-a- (Illich-Svitych) 'seize, hold captive, surround,' Old Uighur qama 'hold captive, surround,' Kirghiz kaına 'surround, arrest,' Tatar kama 'to herd cattle into a pen,' Nogai kam-ty 'to seize.' Mongolian: Written Mongolian qamu 'gather, pick up,' Khalkha xamă 'gather, pick up.' Proto-Tungus (Illich-Svitych) *kama ~ *kamu 'press, oppress, forbid,' Nanai kama-le 'to oppress, clasp,' Ulch kama-lu 'forbid,' kama-l\(\frac{z}{2}\)u 'press,' Orok kamu-i 'seize, take in one's arms,' Evenki kama 'deny assistance to, oppress.'

Сникотіан: Koryak əkmitək.

• N 157, BR 5

333. SELF ana

URALIC: ?Old Hungarian én 'I, myself,' Proto-Samoyed *ånə- 'self, oneself,' Selkup onäk.

OLD JAPANESE önö ~ ana 'self, one, myself,' modern Japanese ono(re) 'self.'

334. SHARPEN₁ pene

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *pän3 'sharpen, hone, grindstone,' Udmurt penon 'grindstone,' Vogul pönl- 'sharpen, grind,' Hungarian fen-.

PROTO-ALTAIC *pińŕa 'needle,' Proto-Turkic *bińŕ 'awl,' Turkish biz 'awl,' Turkmen bijz 'awl.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian birim 'awl,' Kalmyk birṃ 'awl.' Proto-Tungus *pi[ńr]a 'thick needle, fish hook,' Nanai binǯā 'needle,' Evenki hinna 'needle.'

MIDDLE KOREAN panal 'needle,' modern Korean panil 'needle.' OLD JAPANESE pari 'needle,' modern Japanese hari 'needle.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi -pne- 'to sharpen.'

335. SHARPEN₂ pek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)phei 'point; spit (n.),' with various root determinatives including -k, e.g. Latin spīca, spīcus 'spike (of a plant),' spīculum 'lance point,' Old High German spizzi 'point,' Lithuanian speigliāi 'thorns.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'īk'e ~ *p'īke 'to file, polish, rub,' Proto-Turkic *ēke- 'sharpen, grind, file,' Old Turkic ike- 'to file,' Turkish eje 'to file,' Tatar egä- 'to file,' Chuvash jəger 'whetstone.' Proto-Tungus *piki- 'rub,' Negidal xixi- 'rub,' Even hik- 'rub,' Evenki hiki- 'rub,' *pākä (Räsänen 1969) 'to sharpen,' Ulch, Orok, Gold pive 'to sharpen.'

OLD JAPANESE pik- 'file, saw,' modern Japanese hik-u 'file.'

GILYAK vas-s 'hatchet, cutless,' vas-d' 'to shave, hew.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ipəy- 'be sharp,' Sirenik ipaqiyləʁək 'sharp,' Central Siberian Yupik, Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik ipəy- 'be sharp,' North Alaskan Inuit ipɨk- 'be sharp,' Greenlandic ipiy- 'be sharp.'

336. SHINE₁ par

Proto-Indo-European *păr- 'show, be visible,' Greek pepareîn 'show,' Latin pārēre 'appear, be visible.'

OLD Japanese par- 'to clear up (of sky, weather),' modern Japanese hare 'fair weather, weather clears up.'

GILYAK: Amur varpara-d' 'to flash (of lightning),' Sakhalin pařpara-d' 'to flash.'

Chukotian: Chukchi pera-k 'appear, look (intr.),' peran 'appearance, form.'

337. SHINE₂ kel

Proto-Indo-European *ĝhel- ~ *ĝel-, *ghel- (W), *ĝhel- (GI) 'shine, glitter, be yellow,' Old Norse gull 'gold,' Old High German, Old English gold 'gold,' Lithuanian želtas 'golden,' Sanskrit hari 'blond, yellow,' Old Irish gel 'bright, white,' Old Icelandic gulr 'yellow.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kil3 'smooth, slippery,' Udmurt gilit 'slippery,' Komi-Zyrian gilid 'slippery,' Ostyak kuli 'smooth.'

Proto-Altaic *gile ~ *gili ~ *gilo 'shine, glitter,' Middle Mongolian gil(b)a- 'shine, glitter,' Written Mongolian gila-, Khalkha gala, Kalmyk gilī-, Dagur gialbagalži. Proto-Tungus *gilta-, Manchu gilta, Nanai, Ulch gilte, Even giltāl, Evenki gilta-li 'white.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese kira-kira 'shining, glittering.' GILYAK qalıcala 'be bright.'

• IS 330, N 84, BK 228

338. SIBLING-IN-LAW kal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*\hat{g}(e)l\bar{o}u$, $*\hat{K}'al(ou)$ - (GI) 'husband's sister,' Greek $g\acute{a}l\bar{o}s$ 'husband's sister,' Latin $gl\bar{o}s$ (genitive $gl\bar{o}ris$) 'husband's sister,' Old Church Slavic $z\breve{u}l\breve{u}va$ 'husband's sister.'

PROTO-URALIC *käl³ 'sister-in-law,' Finnish käly 'sister-in-law,' Estonian kälī 'husband's brother, wife of the husband's brother,' Saami kālōji 'sister-in-law,' Mordvin kel 'sister-in-law,' Udmurt kal'i 'daughter-in-law,' Komi-Zyrian kel 'sister-in-law,' Ostyak kili 'wife's younger sister,' Vogul kil 'wife's brother,' Yurak śel 'husband of wife's sister, wife of husband's brother,' Enets séri 'brother-in-law,' Tavgy sáluŋ 'brother-in-law,' Selkup šäl 'brother-in-law.'

YUKAGHIR kelil 'spouse of husband or wife's sibling.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kele 'daughter-in-law, bride,' Proto-Turkic *gelin 'daughter-in-law, bride,' Old Turkic kelin 'daughter-in-law,' Turkish gelin 'daughter-in-law,' Turkmen gelīn 'daughter-in-law,' Chuvash kilen 'daughter-in-law,' Yakut kilin 'daughter-in-law.' Proto-Tungus *keli- 'sister's husband, relative-in-law,' Manchu, Negidal, Nanai, Even keli 'relative-in-law,' Ulch, Orok, Evenki keli(n) 'relative-in-law.'

GILYAK q'alŋ 'clan,' q'al-nivx 'kinsman' (nivx is the self name for Gilyak).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi qəlikətək 'be married (to a man).'

• IS 363, N 162, BK 283

339. SING/CRY kig

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $g\bar{e}i$ - ~ * $g\bar{o}i$ - ~ * $g\bar{i}$ - 'sing, cry,' Lithuanian $gied\acute{o}ti$ 'sing,' Old Russian gajati 'crow,' Avestan $g\bar{a}\theta\bar{a}$ 'line of poetry, meter,' Sanskrit $g\acute{a}yati$ 'sings.'

PROTO-URALIC *kīyV- (Illich-Svitych) 'sing, utter a mating call.'

Altaic: Turkic: Uighur küg- 'song,' Kazakh küj 'voice.'

OLD JAPANESE kowe 'voice, cry,' modern Japanese koe 'voice.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut $qi\partial a$ - 'cry,' Proto-Eskimo * $qi\partial a$ - 'cry,' Sirenik $qiy\partial$ 'cry,' Alutiiq qi(y)a 'cry,' Central Alaskan Yupik qia- 'cry,' North Alaskan Inuit $qi(\check{z})a$ 'cry,' Greenlandic qia 'cry.'

• IS 354, N 164

340. SISTER (OLDER) eke

Yukaghir ekie.

Proto-Altaic *ek'a ~ *ek'o 'elder sister,' Proto-Turkic *eke, Old Turkic eke, Turkmen ekeži, Chuvash akka. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian egeči, Dagur ekē, Kalmyk egəčə, Monguor āźī. Proto-Tungus *(k)eke 'elder sister, woman, wife,' Negidal exe 'woman,' exīn 'elder sister,' Manchu xexe 'woman,' Nanai, Orok ekte 'woman,' Ulch ēqte 'woman,' Even ekən 'elder sister,' Evenki ekīn 'older sister.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $kj\bar{\sigma}$ -čip 'woman,' modern Korean $kje\check{z}ip$ 'woman.' OLD JAPANESE kaka 'mother,' modern Japanese o-kaa-san 'mother.' CHUKOTIAN: South Kamchadal kaasx 'sister-in-law' (Radliński).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *a(a)kaκ 'older female relative,' Sirenik aakaχ, Naukan aakaq, Alutiiq aakaaq, Central Alaskan Yupik aakaq 'mother,' North Alaskan Inuit aaka 'mother,' aaxxaa 'eldest sister.'

• BK 417. Cf. BROTHER (OLDER) aka. See Volume 1: 51–52 for a discussion of the vowel contrast a 'strong, masculine' vs. e 'weak, feminine.'

341. SKIN kal

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kal'w3 'film, membrane,' Finnish kalvo 'thin skin,' Estonian kalu 'cataract in the eye,' Livonian kal'k 'cataract in the eye,' Udmurt kil' 'thin tree bark,' Komi-Zyrian kil' 'dandruff,' Ostyak kăl'i 'scab,' Vogul khal'p 'dandruff,' Hun-

garian hályog 'cataract.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'ali 'napless skin, membrane,' Proto-Turkic *kel 'skin, napless skin,' Turkmen kešik 'napless skin,' Chuvash kaška 'mould.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian qalisu 'skin, shell,' Khalkha xals, Kalmyk xälsn, Dagur xalis, Monguor xalsə. Proto-Tungus *xalukta 'membrane, dandruff,' Nanai xaloqta 'membrane,' Orok xaluqta 'membrane,' Manchu alxuwa 'membrane,' Negidal alta 'membrane,' Evenki alukta 'membrane.'

GILYAK: Amur hal 'human skin.'

Chukotian: Chukchi yəlyən, Koryak yəlyəl, Kamchadal kilgilx 'body, skin' (Worth), South Kamchadal vilvil.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut qiluy- 'bark,' Proto-Eskimo *qiluy- 'bark,' Central Siberian Yupik, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik, Greenlandic qiluy- 'bark,' North Alaskan Inuit qilyuk- 'bark.'

• IS 354, N 156

342. SKIN/BARK/COVER(ING) kapa

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s)kep- 'cover, hide,' Greek sképē 'covering,' sképas 'cover (n.),' Lithuanian skẽpsnē 'rag.'

PROTO-URALIC *kopa 'skin, bark,' Estonian kõba 'pine bark,' Mordvin kuvo 'crust, rind,' kuva 'bark,' Cheremis kuwo 'shell,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian ku, Proto-Samoyed *kopå 'skin, bark,' Yurak kopa 'bark,' Selkup qopi, Enets kóba, Tavgy kúfu, Kamassian, Koibal kuba.

PROTO-ALTAIC *kāp'a 'to cover,' Proto-Turkic *Kāp 'to cover,' *kāp 'skin' (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic qap- 'to cover,' Chuvash xop- 'to cover,' Turkmen gābiq 'cover (n.),' Yakut xappar 'sack.' Middle Mongolian kab-t- 'sack,' Written Mongolian qabta-ya(n) 'sack,' Khalkha xavtga 'sack,' Kalmyk xaptəxə 'sack.' Proto-Tungus *kup- 'cover (n. and v.),' Negidal kaptux 'cover, bag,' Ulch kup 'cover,' Evenki kupu 'cover.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kəpcil 'bark,' modern Korean kkəp-təjki 'shell, nut shell,' kkəp-cil 'bark' (MLC 103).

OLD Japanese $ka\Phi a$ 'skin (of an animal), bark,' modern Japanese kawa 'skin, bark.'

AINU kap 'skin, bark, outer cover' (Patrie 1982: 25), sik-kap 'eyelid' (Cf. Turkish göz-kapak 'eyelid').

GILYAK xip 'birch bark' (Glehn).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qapuy 'foam,' Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic qapuk 'foam.'

• SM 9, IS 356, N 212, MR 16. See also Volume 1: 251.

343. SKY sula

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *śala 'lightning (n. and v.),' Finnish salama 'lightning,' Ostyak săl 'lightning,' Vogul sāl- 'lightning.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *tūli 'clear sky, noon,' Proto-Turkic *Tūl 'noon,' Old Turkic *tūš 'noon,' Tatar toš 'noon.' Middle Mongolian duli 'middle (of day, night),' Written Mongolian düli 'middle of day,' Khalkha dül 'middle of day.' Proto-Tungus *dōlā 'clear, open sky,' Evenki dōlō 'clear sky,' Even deləd 'clear sky.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese sora 'sky, weather,' Ryukyuan sura.

AINU sir 'weather' (dialects 1-3, 6-9, Hattori 226: 28).

GILYAK tly 'heaven.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut suluq 'thunder,' Proto-Eskimo *cila ~ *cila '(spirit of) weather or outside world,' Sirenik siła ~ sila 'weather, world, outside,' Naukan siła 'weather, world, outside,' Alutiiq ła 'weather, world, outside,' Central Alaskan Yupik ciła 'weather, world, outside,' North Alaskan Inuit silya 'weather, outside, atmosphere, air,' Greenlandic sila 'weather, outside, the world.'

344. SLEEP₁ (v.) nu

?Proto-Altaic * $\eta \bar{u} j u$, Proto-Turkic * $\bar{u} - d i$ 'to sleep, lie,' Old Turkic $u \delta i$ -, Turkmen u j u, Yakut u t u j-. Middle Mongolian n u i r 'sleep' (n. and v.), Written Mongolian, Dagur n o i r, Khalkha n o j r, Kalmyk $n \bar{o} r$, Monguor $n \bar{o} r$. Proto-Tungus * $\eta u (j)$ a, Manchu $n u - n \bar{z} i - b u$ 'to make sleepy,' Evenki $n \bar{a} - s \bar{o} - n \bar{n} n \bar{a}$ -.

MIDDLE KOREAN $n\bar{u}p \sim n\bar{u}w$ 'to lie,' modern Korean nup(p)- 'to lie.'

OLD JAPANESE na- 'to lie,' ne-mur 'sleep,' modern Japanese ne- 'lie,' ne-mur- 'sleep.'

AINU enunui; enunuj (Dobrotvorskij); eninuj-pe 'pillow' (-pe 'thing' is a nominalizer, dialects 1–6, Hattori 104: 45).

GILYAK: West Sakhalin nax 'sleeping place' (Glehn).

• SM 124

345. SLEEP₂ (v.) sini

- Proto-Altaic *siono ~ *ziono 'night,' Middle Mongolian suini ~ suni 'night,' Written Mongolian söni 'night,' Khalkha šönö 'night,' Dagur suni 'night,' Monguor soni 'night.' Proto-Tungus *siŋkē 'dark night,' Negidal siŋkelten 'night,' Orok sikkew 'night,' Evenki siŋkē 'night,' Even hiŋku 'night.'
- AINU sin-ta 'cradle,' sini 'to rest'; sini 'to rest' (dialects 1-7, Hattori 157: 12).
- PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *3(j)ńə- 'to dream,' Kamchadal sna η 'pillow' (Worth), ən-sna η 'pillow.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut sŋay- 'dream,' Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *cinək-, North Alaskan Inuit sin'yik-, sinŋuziq 'night dress,' West Canadian Inuit sinik, Greenlandic siniy-, sinŋusiq 'night dress.'

346. SMALL₁ $kut \sim kit$

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'ič'V ~ *k'ičV 'small, young of animals,' Proto-Turkic *kičük ~ *kičüg, Old Turkic kičig, Turkish küčük, Azerbaijani kičik, Turkmen kiči, Chuvash (dial.) keźen. Middle Mongolian güčük 'puppy,' Written Mongolian kičig 'puppy,' Kalmyk kičəg 'puppy.'

JAPANESE: Ryukyuan kūt-eng 'be small.'

Chukotian: Koryak kitkit 'barely, scarcely,' Kamchadal kižg 'fine, small.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *-k(k)it (postbase) 'have little, small, few . . . ,' Alutiiq kitə- 'have small, few . . . ,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic kit- 'have small, few'

• IS 348, N 205, MR 22

347. SMALL₂ mik

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*(s)m\bar{e}(ik) \sim *(s)m\bar{i}k$, Greek smikrós \sim mikrós (s-moveable is not part of the stem), Doric, Ionic mikkós, Latin mica.

Chukotian: Chukchi məq-, məkətvik 'decrease in size,' Koryak

-mk- (collective for a small group of objects).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *mikə(t)- 'be small,' Sirenik mikə καἐσενχ 'be small,' Alutiiq mikətə- 'be small,' Central Alaskan Yupik mikə- 'be small,' North Alaskan Inuit miki- 'be small,' Greenlandic miki- 'be small.'

348. SMELL₁ (v.) nog

?ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus *nibu(p)- 'to smoke,' Negidal nūp 'to smoke.' MIDDLE KOREAN nay 'odor,' modern Korean nä (MLC 315).

OLD JAPANESE nipop-, modern Japanese nioi, Ryukyuan niwi.

GILYAK noy 'be fragrant,' nuynuy 'fragrance.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *naʁə-, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik naʁə- 'detect a smell,' North Alaskan Inuit naʁi-, Greenlandic naa-.

349. SMELL₂ (v.) kuli

MIDDLE KOREAN kuli 'be smelly, stinking,' modern Korean koli (MLC 140), kuli 'is fetid, stinking' (MLC 200).

OLD JAPANESE kusa- 'foul, stinking,' modern Japanese kusai 'smelly.' AINU xura (Dobrotvorskij), hura 'a smell' (dialects 1–10, Hattori 285: 26).

• SM 222. These forms would derive from *kul' or the like.

350. SMOKE₁ (n.) $tu \sim te$

Proto-Indo-European *dhū-mo-, *dheu- (W), *dheu-H/s- (GI) 'rise in a cloud, be steamy,' Latin fūmus, Old Prussian dumis, Old Church Slavic dymŭ, Sanskrit dhūmá-, Greek thūmós 'soul, breath,' thúō 'I sacrifice,' Russian du-t' 'to blow,' dym 'smoke (n.).'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'ut'e ~ *t'ute, Proto-Turkic *tüt-ün ~ *tüt-süg 'smoke (n. and v.), haze,' Old Turkic tütün, Turkish tüt-, Tatar töten, Azerbaijani tüstü, Turkmen tüsse, Chuvash tödöm.

MIDDLE KOREAN titkir 'dust.'

OLD JAPANESE tob- 'fly,' modern Japanese tob-u 'fly.'

GILYAK t'u-f (-f is a locative suffix).

CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal t'it'im.

351. SMOKE₂ (n.) poy

ALTAIC: Turkic: Turkmen $b\bar{u}g$ 'steam,' Old Turkic buy 'steam,' Kazakh $b\bar{u}$ 'steam, smoke,' Chuvash pov 'steam.' Mongolian: Kalmyk bug 'demon of the steppes, demon wreathed in smoke.'

AINU $pa \sim paha$ 'steam, smoke'; pa (dialects 1-3, 8, Hattori 95: 28).

GILYAK: Tym (Northeast Sakhalin) poj-f, poj-ant 'to smoke, steam' (Glehn).

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak ?ipi?ip, Kamchadal pojaz 'steam.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut huyuχ 'smoke, steam,' Proto-Eskimo *pujuʁ, Sirenik puyəχ 'soot, smoke,' Naukan puyuq 'smoke, soot,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik puyuq, North Alaskan Inuit puyuq 'smoke from a chimney,' Greenlandic puyuq 'smoke, steam, mist.'

352. SNAKE pam

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ojamV, Proto-Turkic *uman 'worm,' Chuvash oman 'worm.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian jamu 'worm,' Khalkha jam 'farcy, glanders,' Kalmyk jam 'worm.' Proto-Tungus *püjmur 'dragon, monster,' Negidal ximu 'monster,' Nanai pujmur 'dragon,' Ulch pujmu(l) 'dragon.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pajam 'snake,' modern Korean pām (MLC 756). OLD JAPANESE pemi 'poisonous snake,' modern Japanese hebi, Ryukvuan habu.

AINU haram 'lizard.'

353. SNOW₁ negu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *sneig*h- 'to snow' (assuming that this contains s-movable), Old Irish snigid 'rains, snows,' Latin ninguit 'snows,' Old English snīwan 'snows,' English snow, Lithuanian sniēga 'snows,' Old Church Slavic osněžiti 'snows,' Russian sneg.

Proto-Altaic *ńione 'cold,' Proto-Turkic *jEŋ 'frazil,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian ǯiŋ-de- 'to suffer from cold,' Khalkha ǯindi- 'suffer from cold.' Proto-Tungus *ńeŋde- ~ *ńuŋde- 'cold, clear, frosty (weather),' Nanai nonǯi-si 'cold,' Evenki ńeŋ-delē 'clear, frosty weather.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *aniyu 'snow (fallen),' Sirenik anəya 'snow,' Central Siberian Yupik aniyu 'fallen snow,' Alitiiq aniu(q) 'fallen snow,' North Alaskan Inuit aniu 'packed snow.'

354. SNOW₂ kon

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *kəntɜ- 'freeze,' Tavgy kəntid'i 'freeze,' Enets koddido' 'freeze,' Yurak (Forest) kińīmš 'freeze,' Motor kandam 'freeze.'

Proto-Altaic *k'ungo ~ *k'ongo 'snow, freeze,' Middle Mongolian kungar- 'snowdrift,' Written Mongolian qunyar 'snowdrift,' Khalkha xungar 'snowdrift.' Proto-Tungus *xun-da- 'ice crust on snow,' Nanai xonda 'ice crust,' Evenki unnan 'ice crust,' Manchu undan 'ice crust,' Negidal ōnnan 'ice crust.'

OLD JAPANESE kogor- 'freeze,' kogo- 'freezing,' modern Japanese kogor- 'freeze.'

AINU konru 'ice'; konru 'hail' (dialects 3 and 4, Hattori 228: 43), konru 'sleet' (dialect 1, Hattori 227: 42).

GILYAK $ky\eta$ -d' 'to freeze, become stiff.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak kańżčyo 'spring snow,' Kamchadal kank(-kes) 'spend the winter,' qəllal 'snow' (-al is a collective suffix), Northeast Kamchadal krel, Southern Kamchadal kol'aal' (Krasheninnikov), kulal' (Radliński).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut qanax 'winter,' qaniix 'snow,' Proto-Eskimo *qaniy 'falling snow,' Sirenik qanix 'falling snow,' Alutiiq qaniq 'falling snow,' Central Alaskan Yupik qanuk 'snowflake,' Naukan qanik 'falling snow,' North Alaskan Inuit qannik 'snowflake,' Greenlandic qanik 'snowflake,' qaniit 'snow in air.' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *kanəʁ 'frost,' Sirenik kanəx, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik kanəq 'frost,' North Alaskan Inuit kaniq 'frost,' Greenlandic kaniʁ- 'be dewy, covered with rime.'

• IS 371

355. SOUR seu

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *čaw³ ~ *čapa 'sour, become sour,' Finnish hapan, Estonian hape 'acidification,' Mordvin šapama, Cheremis šap³, Ostyak suw- 'become sour,' Vogul sāw- 'make sour,' Hungarian savanyú.

PROTO-ALTAIC *siūli 'gall,' Middle Mongolian sülsu 'gall,' Written Mongolian sösü 'gall,' Khalkha sös 'gall,' Monguor sūlʒə 'gall.' Proto-Tungus *sī ~ *sīl-se 'gall,' Negidal, Nanai, Ulch silte 'gall,' Orok sīlte 'gall,' Manchu silxi 'gall,' Evenki sī 'gall.' According

to Starostin et. al (2002), this Altaic root tends to merge with Proto-Altaic *siāli 'juice, fluid.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *siāru 'sour, acid,' Proto-Turkic *sirke 'vinegar,' Old Turkic, Turkish sirke 'vinegar,' Chuvash šarak 'vinegar.' Proto-Tungus *sōri 'stinking,' Nanai sōri 'stinking,' Ulch sōri 'stinking.'

MIDDLE KOREAN sii, modern Korean swi(-ta) 'turn sour, become putrid' (MLC 1022).

OLD JAPANESE su-, modern Japanese su-i.

• SM 211, 316

356. SPACE sai

PROTO-ALTAIC *sajo 'interval, space between,' Proto-Turkic *saja'to be thin, thinned out.' Middle Mongolian söyem 'small span,'
Written Mongolian sögem 'small span,' Khalkha sōm 'small span.'
Proto-Tungus *saja 'space (between fingers),' Evenki saja, Ulch,
Orok saja(n), Nanai saja. Cf. also Middle Mongolian, Written
Mongolian saba 'uninhabited frontier land between two districts
or countries,' Khalkha sav 'uninhabited land,' Kalmyk saw 'uninhabited land.'

MIDDLE KOREAN sańi 'space, interval,' modern Korean sai 'space, interval' (MLC 881).

OLD JAPANESE se 'a measure of land,' modern Japanese s \bar{e} 'a measure of land.'

AINU sa 'spread out, open, a plain.'

357. SPEAK₁ kel

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *kəlē- ~ *kel-, *kelə- (W) 'shout,' *kʰ-ll-e(s)- (GI) 'call,' Hittite kalless- 'call,' Latin calō 'I call together, summon,' Old Norse hjala 'chatter, talk.' Cf. also *gal- 'call out, speak,' Welsh galw 'call,' Old Norse kall 'shout,' Old High German kallōn 'speak loudly,' Old Church Slavic glasŭ 'voice.'

PROTO-URALIC *kele 'tongue, language,' Finnish kieli 'tongue,' Estonian keel 'tongue,' Saami kiella 'language,' Mordvin kel' 'tongue,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian kil 'tongue,' Ostyak köl 'speech,' Yurak śe 'tongue,' Enets sioro 'tongue,' Selkup šē 'tongue.'

YUKAGHIR kal-, Omok kał bogon.

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jali 'tongue,' Proto-Turkic *Kele- 'speak, talk

(n.), conversation,' Old Turkic kele-čü 'talk (n.),' Chuvash kala 'speak.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian kele- 'say,' kele 'tongue, language,' Khalkha xele 'say,' xel 'tongue, language,' Dagur xele- 'say,' xeli 'tongue, language,' Monguor kile(-) 'say, tongue.' Proto-Tungus *xilŋü 'tongue,' Manchu ileŋgu 'tongue,' Ju-chen hileŋŋu 'say, tongue, language,' Evenki inńi 'tongue,' Orok sinu 'tongue.'

MIDDLE KOREAN kalodai 'say (a defective verb),' modern Korean kēl(-ta) 'addresses a person' (MLC 97).

GILYAK qlai 'converse.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *quli- 'voice, cry,' Chukchi quliqul 'cries,' qulilierkin 'cries,' qučičerkin 'shouts, makes a noise' (for the 1 ~ č alternation in Chukchi, see Volume 1: 259), Koryak k'ulik'ul (plural k'ulit) 'voice,' Kamchadal kel 'cry out, shout,' quliqul 'song' (Worth).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *qafa- 'talk,' Sirenik qafay- 'speak,' Alutiiq qafa- 'talk,' Central Alaskan Yupik qafata- 'talk, discuss, preach,' Central Siberian Yupik qafay- 'speak, talk, say something important.' Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *qalau- 'make a characteristic cry (animal),' Sirenik qaluixtau- 'call, cry,' Alutiiq qaluiu- 'yell, growl,' Central Alaskan Yupik, Naukan qaluiu- 'cry, make inarticulate vocal sound (animal),' North Alaskan Inuit qaluuq- 'make characteristic sound (animal)'; and Proto-Eskimo *kələy- 'inform,' Sirenik kəly(ə)- 'go and call,' Alutiiq kələy- 'inform, notify,' Central Alaskan Yupik kələy- 'invite to one's house (to eat),' North Alaskan Inuit kilik- 'inform, warn,' Greenlandic kiliy- 'inform.'

• IS 336, N 221, MR 15, BK 244, 245

358. SPEAK₂ aw

Proto-Indo-European *au- ~ *aued- 'speak,' Old High German far-wāzan 'deny,' Lithuanian vadinù 'call, name,' Old Church Slavic vaditi 'accuse,' Sanskrit vádati 'speaks, says, raises one's voice.'

AINU aye \sim iye 'say, tell,' aye 'be called'; ye 'speak, talk' (dialects 1-8, 10), yee 'say' (dialect 9), iye (dialects 6 and 7), haw 'voice' (dialects 1-10, Hattori 56: 4 and 284: 9); aw (Majewicz and

Majewicz).

GILYAK: Amur yw 'voice,' Sakhalin aw 'voice.'

• Cf. SPEAK₃.

359. SPEAK₃ ip

PROTO-ALTAIC * $ip'i \sim *ipi \sim *ipe$ 'mouth, say,' Proto-Tungus *(x)ip- ke- 'to order, tell, lure,' Even $ipk \not= n$ - 'tell,' Evenki ipk u- 'tell.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ip- 'mouth,' ip(h) 'recite, chant,' modern Korean ip 'mouth.'

OLD JAPANESE ip- 'say,' modern Japanese yu- 'say.'

Chukotian: Chukchi $iw \sim ew$, Koryak $iv \sim ev$ 'speak, think.'

?ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *apas-, Sirenik apas- 'tell,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik apas- 'say, pronounce.'

• SM 298. Cf. SPEAK₂.

360. SPEAK₄ pa

?PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *bhā- 'speak,' Latin for 'I speak,' Armenian bay 'says.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *wåə 'speak,' Tavgy buatum 'speak,' Enets bâbo 'speak.'

KOREAN pa 'thing, means, that which' (MLC 701).

OLD JAPANESE pa (topic marker).

AINU pe 'thing,' -p (nominalizer).

GILYAK p'iń 'thing.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut hi 'say, call, ask for, tell; thing,' Proto-Eskimo *pi- 'do something; thing,' Sirenik pi- 'say, do; something,' Alutiiq pi- 'do, say, act, go; thing,' Central Alaskan Yupik pi- 'do, say, act; thing,' North Alaskan Inuit pi- 'do, say, get; thing,' Greenlandic pi- 'do (to), say, get, go, happen, marry, concern, mean; thing.' This form is the so-called "empty root."

361. SPIT (v.) tup

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'up'i 'spit, spittle,' Proto-Turkic *tübkür-, Old Turkic tüvkür-, Turkmen tüjkir-. Proto-Tungus *tupi- 'spit, spittle,' Orok tupin, Ulch tipu(n), Nanai topin-, Manchu čifele-.

MIDDLE KOREAN chim 'spittle.'

OLD JAPANESE tupak-, modern Japanese tsubaku 'to spit,' tuba 'saliva.'

AINU tupse (dialect 1, Hattori 7: 53), topse (dialects 6-8), etopse (dialects 2, 3, 5, 6).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *təvvuy-, Central Alaskan Yupik təfaaʁ-, North Alaskan Inuit tivvuk- 'spit out,' Greenlandic tip-puyaʁ- 'spit, splutter.'

• SM 216, IS 354, MR 54

362. SPRING (season) nyar

Proto-Indo-European *jēro ~ *jōro ~ *jəro 'young animal, year, new season, spring' (supposedly a root extension of *ej- 'to go,' but always with -r), *yēr- (W) 'year, season,' Luwian āra 'time,' Avestan yārə 'year,' Old Church Slavic jara 'spring,' Greek hôros 'year,' hóra 'time, season, spring,' Gothic jēr 'year,' English year.

PROTO-URALIC *ńōre (Illich-Svitych) 'spring, young,' Finnish nuore-'young,' Hungarian nyár 'summer' (probably a Turkic borrowing), Proto-Samoyed *nårå 'snow crust, spring,' Enets, Yurak (Tundra) nara 'snow crust,' Tavgy nóru 'snow crust.'

Proto-Altaic *niāra 'young; spring, summer,' Proto-Turkic *jār, Old Turkic, Tatar jaz, Chuvash śur 'summer,' Yakut sās. Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian nirai 'young, fresh,' Khalkha ńaraj 'young,' Kalmyk nirā 'young,' Buriat ńarai 'young, fresh.' Proto-Tungus *ńar-gu-'new, fresh,' Manchu ńarxu-n 'new, fresh, green,' Nanai ńargi 'new, fresh.'

MIDDLE KOREAN nyəlim 'summer,' modern Korean jəlim 'summer' (MLC 1163).

OLD JAPANESE natu 'summer,' modern Japanese natsu 'summer.' AINU yar-pe 'child's clothes' (-pe 'thing'); yarpe 'child' (dialect 6, Hattori 34: 5), yarpe 'baby' (dialects 5-7, Hattori 34: 4).

GILYAK yr, Sakhalin yrŋ 'time.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi eleel 'summer,' Koryak alaal.

• Poppe 1960: 38, SM 230, IS 349, N 318, BK 575

363. SPRING (water) yu

JAPANESE yu 'boiled water,' o-yu 'hot water.' AINU ju 'sulphur springs, mineral water.' GILYAK ju 'morning dew.'

364. STAR₁ ter

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ster-, *ster- (W), *Hasther- (GI), Hittite hasterz(a), Avestan stārəm, Latin stēlla, Old English steorra, Old High German sterno. The Vedic nominative plural tāras, alongside of the instrumental plural strbhis, shows that this form contains Indo-European s-movable.

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'jorku ~ *t'jolku, Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha tergel 'full moon.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *t'jōlo 'shine, reflect,' Proto-Tungus *tī- 'to become full (moon),' Evenki, Negidal $t\bar{t}$ - 'become full (moon).'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean tal 'moon, month.'

OLD JAPANESE ter- 'shine,' modern Japanese teru 'shine.' Cf. also Old Japanese tuki 'moon,' modern Japanese tsuki 'moon.'

AINU: Sakhalin tolibi 'star.'

Proto-Chukotian *tirxə- 'sun, moon,' Chukchi tirkətir, Koryak tijkətij.

• SM 143

365. STAR₂ unger

PROTO-ALTAIC *ŋēra 'light,' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Dagur gerel 'beam of light,' Kalmyk ger! 'beam of light,' Monguor gərēl 'beam of light.' Proto-Tungus *ŋēr(i)-'light,' Evenki, Even ŋēri 'light,' Negidal ŋējin 'light,' Manchu gexun 'light,' Nanai, Ulch ŋegặe 'light,' Orok ŋegde 'light.'

OLD JAPANESE ari-ake 'dawn,' modern Japanese ariake 'dawn.'

GILYAK: Amur, Sakhalin $u\acute{n}\gamma r$.

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *?əŋer, Chukchi eŋer, Koryak aŋaj, West Kamchadal agažin (consonantal metathesis, Krasheninnikov).

366. STINK čiri

PROTO-ALTAIC *č'ire 'to stink, be rotten,' Proto-Turkic *čer 'to

rot, rotten, foul,' Turkish čirkin 'rotten,' Chuvash čir 'illness.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian čer 'phlegm,' Khalkha, Kalmyk cer 'phlegm,' Dagur čire 'dirt, manure.' Proto-Tungus *čiri- 'stink,' Evenki čiri 'emit foul odor,' Nanai čiriftala (Tsintsius II: 399).

MIDDLE KOREAN čiri- 'be foul, emit a foul odor,' modern Korean čili-ta 'smells of urine' (MLC 1531).

• N 50

367. STONE₁ kiu

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *kiwe, Finnish, Estonian kivi, Mordvin kev, Cheremis küj, Udmurt ke, Komi-Zyrian iz-ki, Ostyak kew, Vogul käw, Hungarian kő.

Yukaghir $\chi \ddot{a}i$.

AINU kaukau 'hailstones.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *xəvxə- 'stone, rock,' Kamchadal kov (Stebnitsky), kva?(an) 'stony.'

Proto-Eskimo-Aleut *kew 'rock,' Proto-Eskimo *qiyyu 'talus of rocks,' Alutiiq qiuq 'rock, cliff,' Central Alaskan Yupik qiuq 'bluish-grey rock or mountain,' Greenlandic qixxut 'heap of rocks.'

• N 166, BK 249

368. STONE₂ tul

ETRUSCAN tul.

Proto-Altaic *tiōli, Proto-Turkic *diāl, Chuvash čol, Old Turkic, Turkish, Tatar taš, Yakut tāš, Azerbaijani daš, Turkmen dāš. Middle Mongolian čila'un, Written Mongolian čilayu, Khalkha čulū, Kalmyk čolūn, Dagur čolō. Proto-Tungus *3ola 'stone,' Negidal, Ulch, Evenki 3olo, Orok, Nanai 3olo.

MIDDLE KOREAN tōlh, modern Korean tol (MLC 476).

OLD JAPANESE isi, modern Japanese ishi.

• SM 224

369. STRONG₁ bek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *u̞eĝ-, *weg- (W), *Hu̞ek'- (GI) 'be fresh, strong,' Latin vegeō 'I enliven, stir up,' Sanskrit vája- 'strength.'

PROTO-URALIC *wäke 'strength,' Finnish väki 'strength,' Estonian vägi 'strength,' Saami viekkâ 'fairly, rather,' Mordvin vij 'strength,' Cheremis wij 'strength,' Ostyak wey 'strength,' Vogul wāy 'strength,' Yurak wika 'strength.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *piāk'e ~ *piāka 'firm, mighty,' Proto-Turkic *bek 'firm, solid, stable,' Old Turkic, Turkmen bek 'firm, stable,' Turkish pek 'firm,' Chuvash pak 'suddenly, abrupt.' Middle Mongolian bekü 'firm, hard, solid,' Written Mongolian bekü ~ beki ~ böke 'firm, solid,' Khalkha böx ~ bex 'firm,' Kalmyk bek 'firm,' Dagur buke 'strong man.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $p \ni k(h)$ 'very,' modern Korean $ph \ni k$ 'very.'

GILYAK vako- 'become strong.'

• IS 364, BK 499

370. STRONG₂ nek

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN * $n\bar{e}ik$ - ~ * $n\bar{i}k$ - ~ *nik- 'pounce on, violent,' Latvian $na\hat{i}ks$ 'violent,' Greek $ne\hat{i}kos$ 'strife,' Hittite ni-ni(n)k- 'start up, mobilize.'

URALIC: Samoyed: Tavgy ńika 'strength,' Enets niho 'strength.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ńik'u 'grind, crunch,' Proto-Turkic *jik- 'crush, grind,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Turkmen jik- 'crush,' Azerbaijani jix- 'crush.' Proto-Tungus *ńiki- 'crunch, gnaw, swallow, destroy, demolish,' Manchu niqča- 'destroy, demolish,' Nanai ńikike- 'swallow,' Evenki ńeki 'crunch, gnaw.'

MODERN KOREAN nëk-nëk 'sufficient, ample.'

PROTO-CHUKOTIAN *nqiw 'strength, force,' Chukchi ɛnqiw-, Koryak enqiv-, Aliutor anqiv-, Western Kamchadal kəv-ley.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *nukəy 'muscle, tendon,' Alutiiq nukək 'tendon, root,' Central Alaskan Yupik nuki- 'be physically strong,' North Alaskan Inuit nukik 'strength, cartilage, tendon,' Greenlandic nukik 'muscle, tendon, strength,' nukkay- 'become strong.'

• SM 243

371. SUCK ima

PROTO-URALIC *ime-, Finnish, Estonian ime-, Ostyak, Old Hungarian em-, Proto-Samoyed * \acute{n} im- \sim * \acute{n} im-, Yurak (Tundra) \acute{n} im \acute{n} e,

Tavgy ńimiri-, Selkup nim-.

Yukaghir: Kolyma ibi, ibiči 'breast.'

Proto-Altaic *iome 'to drink,' *am- ~ *um- 'drink' (Poppe 69, 101), Proto-Turkic *em-ig 'to drink,' *em-ček 'breast (female), to suck, nipple,' Old Turkic emig 'breast,' Turkish em- 'to suck,' Tatar imčäk 'breast,' Azerbaijani ämžäk 'nipple,' Turkmen emžek 'breast,' Chuvash öm- 'to suck,' Yakut emīj 'breast.' Middle Mongolian emgu-gu 'swallow,' Written Mongolian emkü- 'swallow,' Khalkha ömxö- 'swallow,' Kalmyk ümkə- 'swallow,' Dagur umku- 'swallow,' Monguor xangu- 'swallow.' Proto-Tungus *um(i)- 'to drink,' Negidal om- 'drink,' Manchu, Nanai omi- 'drink,' Ulch umuwu 'drink,' Orok umi- 'drink,' Evenki um- 'drink.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ma-si- 'to drink,' modern Korean masi- 'drink.' CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ememixitgin, Kamchadal imta- 'breast.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ma-qða- 'suck breast or milk,' umchu-lix 'suck the breast (baby), suck water,' Proto-Eskimo *ama- 'suckle,' Alutiiq amaas- 'nurse a baby,' amaaq 'female breast,' Central Alaskan Yupik aamas 'suckle,' North Alaskan Inuit amaamak- 'suckle,' Greenlandic amaama(k) 'breast (child's word),' amaamay- 'suckle'; Proto-Eskimo *mamas(-) 'suck the breast, taste good,' Sirenik maməs- 'suck the breast,' Central Siberian Yupik mamaq 'breast, milk,' Greenlandic mamas- 'taste good.'

• N 109

372. SUMMER sak

AINU sak(-pa) 'summer(time)'; sak (dialects 1–8), sak-pa (dialects 1 and 3, Hattori 251: 44). Ainu pa means 'time, season.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut saaqudax, Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *aužaq, North Alaskan Inuit aužaq, Greenlandic aašaq.

373. SUN nar

PROTO-ALTAIC *nera ~ *neru 'day, sun,' Proto-Turkic *jar-in 'morning, tomorrow,' Old Turkic, Turkish jarin 'morning,' Chuvash iran 'tomorrow,' Yakut sarsin 'morning.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian naran, Khalkha, Dagur nar, Kalmyk narn, Monguor nara.

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean nal 'sun, day, weather' (MLC 302).

• IS 339, N 320.

374. SWALLOW (v.) pala

PROTO-URALIC *pala 'a bite, eat,' Finnish pala 'a bite, crumb,' Mordvin pal 'a piece of meat,' Komi-Zyrian palak 'lump, clod,' Ostyak pul 'a bite,' Vogul pūl 'a bite, a bit, a piece,' Hungarian fal- 'eat,' falat- 'a bite,' Proto-Samoyed *pålä 'to swallow,' Yurak pāl'e 'devour, swallow,' Selkup polį-.

AINU para 'mouth.'

375. SWAMP₁ lama

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *lāmā 'puddle, swamp' (queried), Latin lāma 'swamp, bog, slough.'

PROTO-URALIC *lampe 'puddle, pond, swamp,' Finnish lampi 'pond,' Estonian lammikas 'mud hole,' Saami luobbâl 'small lake,' Yurak limbad, Selkup limpä.

PROTO-ALTAIC *lāmo 'sea, wave,' *lāmu (Illich-Svitych) 'swamp, sea,' Middle Mongolian namug 'swamp, marsh,' Written Mongolian namuy, Khalkha namag. Proto-Tungus *lāmu 'sea,' Evenki lāmu 'sea,' Orok namu 'sea,' lamu 'wave,' Even lām ~ nām 'sea,' Nanai lamu ~ namu 'sea,' Manchu namu 'sea,' Negidal lām 'sea.' Poppe reconstructs initial *n- for Proto-Altaic; Benzing (34) reconstructs *lāmu.

Korean nyph 'swamp, marsh, pond, bog' (MLC 379).

Japanese numa. Cf. also Old Japanese, modern Japanese nami 'wave.'

AINU noma ~ numa 'swamp, morass' (Patrie 1982: 43; not found in Batchelor, Hattori, or Dobrotvorskij).

• SM 137, IS 331, N 263

376. SWAMP₂ nur

Proto-Uralic *ńor3, Finnish noro 'swampy valley,' Estonian nõru 'brooklet,' Udmurt ńur 'damp, moist,' Komi-Zyrian ńur, Vogul ńār, Hungarian nyirok 'moisture,' ?Yurak ńurka 'aspen tree,'

Selkup *njăr* 'tundra'; Proto-Uralic *ńorɔ 'a kind of moss,' Saami ńōra 'moss,' Yurak ńārcu 'swamp moss,' Kamassian nor 'moss.'

Yukaghir: Tundra ńor 'swamp,' norzek 'moss.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *niur´e 'become wet, soak,' Turkic: Chuvash nurĕ 'wet,' Yakut nuora. Middle Mongolian nur- 'soak, be wet,' Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Kalmyk nor 'let water through,' Dunshan noro 'wet,' Monguor nuora 'swamp.'

OLD JAPANESE nura 'be wet, get wet,' modern Japanese nure-ru 'get wet, be moistened,' nuras-u 'moisten,' Ryukyuan nurashing 'be wet.'

GILYAK nur 'soak.'

• N 326

377. SWIM oye

PROTO-URALIC *uje \sim *oje, Finnish ui-, Estonian uju-, Saami vuojje-, Mordvin uje-, Cheremis ujal-, Komi-Zyrian uj-, Ostyak üj-, Vogul oj-, Hungarian úsz-, Yurak $\eta \bar{u}$ -, Selkup \bar{u} -.

PROTO-ALTAIC *oje, Middle Mongolian *üj- \sim *oji-mu-, Written Mongolian oimu-, Khalkha ojmo-, Monguor wī-. Proto-Tungus *ujV- 'swim (of birds),' *uju- 'swim (of birds)' (Tsintsius II: 252), Evenki uju-, Nanai ojana-, Negidal oji-jan-, Orok onnō-.

Modern Korean hëy.

OLD JAPANESE oyog-, modern Japanese oyogu.

• SM 235, IS 355, BK 509

378. TAIL sari

Proto-Altaic *seri 'buttocks, defecate,' Proto-Turkic *siri- 'defecate (of a dog),' Old Turkic siri- 'defecate.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian sari- 'urinate (of a dog),' Kalmyk sär- 'urinate.' Proto-Tungus *seri(gi) 'buttocks,' Evenki sergi 'coccyx,' Even heri 'buttocks,' Nanai sirge 'small hillock.'

MIDDLE KOREAN choli, modern Korean choli 'a pointed or tapering end (e.g. of a tail, switch from a tree)' (MLC 1613).

OLD JAPANESE siri 'buttock,' modern Japanese shiri 'backside, hips.' AINU sar 'tail' (dialects 1–8), sara-kuh 'fish's tail' (dialect 9, Hattori 181: 17).

• SM 236

379. TAKE₁ ali

URALIC: Samoyed: Kamassian arə 'to handle.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ala 'take, receive,' Proto-Turkic *al-, Old Turkic, Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani, Turkmen al-, Chuvash il-, Yakut il-. Middle Mongolian ali 'take, receive, give,' Written Mongolian, Monguor ali 'give!,' Khalkha, Kalmyk al 'give,' Dagur ali-'take, receive.' Proto-Tungus *al(i)- 'take, receive, give, hand over,' *ali- 'give' (Benzing 63), Negidal, Even, Evenki al- 'take, receive,' Manchu ali 'take, receive,' Orok, Nanai ali- 'take, receive,' Ulch alū- 'give, Ju-chen ali- 'give.'

GILYAK al- 'run after, overtake.'

Chukotian: Chukchi ləŋ 'to appropriate,' Kamchadal il' 'keep' (Worth).

380. TAKE₂ ai

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ai-, *ai- (GI) 'give' (in the middle voice, 'take'), Hittite pai (< *pe-ai) 'give,' Greek ainumai 'take, seize,' Tocharian A e- 'give,' Tocharian B ai 'give.'

Japanese e-ru.

CHUKOTIAN: Palana aiv- 'alms.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *ayi- 'get whatever one wants,' Central Siberian Yupik azi- 'get whatever one wants,' Central Alaskan Yupik ayi 'be satiated, get whatever one wants,' ?Greenlandic ai-vaa 'gets.'

381. TAKE₃ amu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *em-, Latin emere, Lithuanian imù, Old Church Slavic imo.

PROTO-URALIC *amta 'give,' Finnish anta- 'give,' Estonian anda- 'give,' Saami vuow'de- 'sell,' Mordvin ando- 'feed,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian ud- 'give to drink,' Hungarian ad- 'give, present,' Proto-Samoyed *me- 'take (tr.); be, become (intr.),' Yurak (Forest) mēš, Motor mejam.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eastern Aleut amlu- 'draw, bail,' Proto-Eskimo *amu 'pull,' Sirenik amə- 'pull out,' Central Siberian Yupik amu- 'pull,' Naukan, Central Alaskan Yupik amu- 'pull out,' Alutiiq amu- 'pull up, out, off,' North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic amu-

'pull out.'

• N 133, BK 426

382. TAKE₄ per

Proto-Indo-European *bher- 'carry, bring,' Old Church Slavic bero 'take,' Russian brat' 'take,' Latin ferō 'I carry,' Old English beran 'carry, bear,' Armenian berem 'carry,' Tocharian A, B pär- 'carry.'

Proto-Altaic *biōr[e] 'give, take, collect,' Proto-Turkic *bēr 'give,' Old Turkic, Turkmen ber 'give,' Azerbaijani, Turkish ver- 'give,' Tatar bir- 'give,' Chuvash par 'give,' Yakut bier- 'give.' Proto-Tungus *bū- 'give,' Negidal, Nanai, Orok, Evenki bū- 'give,' Manchu bu- 'give,' Ulch būwu 'give,' Even bō- 'give.'

OLD Japanese pirip- 'gather, collect,' modern Japanese hiro- 'gather, collect,' Ryukyuan firof- 'gather.'

AINU pirai (Moshiogusa); perai 'fish with rod and line' (Hattori 113: 26).

GILYAK p'ry- 'to take away.'

Chukotian: Chukchi $pir \sim per$.

• IS 332, N 8, BK 6

383. TAKE₅ tal

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *tel- \sim *telə- \sim *telə- (W), *thel- (GI) 'lift,' Latin tollere 'lift,' Old Irish tlenaim 'I steal' (cf. English slang 'lift' = 'steal'), Tocharian A, B täl- 'lift, acquire.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'āla 'plunder, seduce,' Proto-Turkic *tāla- 'rob, plunder,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Chagatai, Kazakh tala- 'rob,' Turkmen tāla- 'rob,' Chuvash tola- 'harm, slander.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian tala- 'rob,' Khalkha tal- 'rob,' Kalmyk tala- 'rob,' Dagur tale 'steal.' Tungus: Manchu tala 'confiscate' (borrowing from Mongolian).

KOREAN tyl- 'take, carry' (MLC 535).

OLD JAPANESE töru, modern Japanese toru 'take, steal,' Ryukyuan tuy-ung.

AINU tarara 'hold up.'

GILYAK: Eastern Sakhalin tloi 'steal.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi tul?etək 'steal,' Koryak tul 'steal.'

• SM 106, IS 351, BK 98

384. TASTE ama

PROTO-ALTAIC *amo 'mouth, taste,' Middle Mongolian aman 'mouth, taste (n. and v.),' Written Mongolian ama(n) 'mouth, taste,' Khalkha am, Kalmyk amn, Dagur, Monguor ama.

MIDDLE KOREAN mas 'flavor,' modern Korean mat.

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ama- 'sweet, tasty,' Ryukyuan ama-san.

GILYAK: Amur amra, Sakhalin amra-ŋ.

Chukotian: Koryak $methatken \sim mačətken$ 'aroma' (Zhukova), Kamchadal amčaka 'smell (n.)' (Worth).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut um-six 'to smell, get the scent of,' umta-king 'taste' (Geoghean).

• SM 284

385. TEAR (v.) peri

Proto-Indo-European *(s)per- (Illich-Svitych) 'tear, break,' Armenian p'ert' 'isolated piece,' Greek spar-ássō 'I tear, break.'

PROTO-URALIC *pärä (Illich-Svitych) 'break,' *pärek (Illich-Svitych) 'broken off piece,' Finnish päre 'broken off piece,' Veps päreg 'chip, splinter,' Komi-Zyrian pyrig 'crumb, remnant,' Vogul -poar 'small piece.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'uri 'crush,' Proto-Turkic *ür- 'tear, break, demolish,' *üz (Räsänen 1969, < *hür) 'tear apart,' Old Turkic, Turkmen üz- 'tear apart,' Uighur üz 'break up.' Middle Mongolian xuru- 'sharpen, hone,' Written Mongolian ürü 'whet, rub,' Khalkha üre- 'sharpen.' Proto-Tungus *puru- ~ *purgu- 'crush,' Manchu furu 'cut into small pieces,' Nanai purtu 'crumbs,' Ulch pori- 'crush,' Evenki huru- 'crush.'

MIDDLE KOREAN pul(h)- 'in pieces, crumbs, to rub, grind,' modern Korean purə 'in pieces,' phul-da 'rub.' Cf. also modern Korean phul-ta 'loosen, remove' (MLC 1763).

AINU piru 'wipe'; piru 'wipe' (dialects 1-9, Hattori 129: 19).

• Poppe 1960: 12, 111, 132, N 339

386. THING kutu

PROTO-ALTAIC *kesu 'thing, sort, order,' Middle Mongolian küsünüg 'list, chart, column (of a register),' Khalkha xüsneg 'list.' Proto-Tungus *kese 'word, order,' Manchu xese 'word,' Orok kese 'word.'

MIDDLE KOREAN $k \ni s \sim k a s$, modern Korean $k \ni s$ (read $k \ni t$) (MLC 103).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese koto, Ryukyuan kutu. Cf. also Old Japanese kusa 'sort, kind.'

AINU kusu 'because.'

• SM 239

387. THINK met

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *med-, *met'- (GI) 'think, measure,' Armenian mit 'thought, sense,' Latin meditor 'I consider,' Old Irish midiur 'think, judge,' Old Norse meta 'reckon,' Old English metan 'measure.'

Yukaghir met 'inform,' Kolyma med(u) 'be heard (of a sound),' modi 'hear.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *miuti 'know, believe,' *medä- (Illich-Svitych) 'know, feel,' Proto-Turkic *büt- 'believe, sign, token,' Old Turkic büt 'believe,' Yakut bit 'sign.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha, Dagur mede 'know,' Kalmyk medə- 'know,' Monguor mude- 'know.' Tungus: Manchu mede 'knowledge,' meğige (< medige) 'information,' Lamut məd- 'note, perceive,' Evenki mədəgō 'sensation' (Poppe 1960: 35, 125).

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean mit- 'believe' (MLC 695).

GILYAK meta- 'to doubt.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi mətəw 'I think that it was X,' Koryak mitəlhən 'expert,' nə-mit-xin 'intelligent, dextrous,' mitətvək 'become sensible,' Kamchadal n-mit-qin 'skillful' (Worth; probably a borrowing from Koryak).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *məciy- 'be clearly visible,' Central Alaskan Yupik məciy- 'be clearly visible,' Seward Peninsula Inuit miziyi- 'observe,' Eastern Canadian Inuit misiyi- 'discover, become aware of,' Greenlandic misiyi- 'notice, feel.'

• Poppe 1960: 125, IS 353, N 297

388. THINK/SAY men

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *men 'think, consider,' Luwian $m(a)n\bar{a}$ 'see, look upon,' Gothic munan 'think, believe,' Armenian imanam 'understand,' Lithuanian miniù 'remember,' Old Church
 Slavic mĭnjo 'think,' Sanskrit manyate 'he/she thinks (middle
 voice).' There is a reduplicated perfect in Greek memona 'think,
 desire,' Latin memini 'I remember,' and Hittite memmai 'he/she
 says.'
- Proto-Uralic *mvn3- ~ *mon3- 'say,' Finnish manaa- 'admonish, urge, exhort,' Estonian mana- 'scold,' Saami moanna 'think, conjecture,' Mordvin muńa 'conjure up,' Cheremis mana- 'say,' Hungarian mond- 'say,' Proto-Samoyed *må- ~ *mån- 'say,' Enets man 'say,' Yurak (Forest) mānś 'say,' Selkup mompa 'say,' Kamassian mal'ɛm 'say,' Tavgy muno 'say, command.'
- Yukaghir: Tundra mon- 'say,' Kolyma mimai- 'to grasp, understand' (Angere). Cf. the Indo-European reduplicated preterite presents.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *mana \sim *mano 'learn, try,' Proto-Tungus *mandū- 'try, strive,' Orok mandū- 'try,' Even manru- 'try,' Evenki mandūw- 'try.'

OLD JAPANESE manab- 'learn,' modern Japanese manabu 'learn.' CHUKOTIAN: Kamchadal amnel 'tale' (Worth).

• IS 339, N 281, BR 16, BK 519

389. THREE tre

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *trei-, *threi- (GI), Hittite tēri, Lycian, Old Irish, Old Church Slavic tri-, Latin trēs, Old High German drī, Old Prussian tris, Albanian, Tocharian A tre, Armenian erek'.

?Proto-Altaic *sari ~ *seri 'three,' Middle Mongolian *sereye 'trident,' Written Mongolian serege 'trident,' Khalkha, Dagur serē 'trident.'

? MIDDLE KOREAN $s\bar{s}i,$ modern Korean $s\bar{e}.$

AINU re, Sakhalin tre (Dybowski), Nairo te.

GILYAK: Southeast trak 'thrice.'

390. THROAT kur

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *g*er-, *g*er-- (W), *k'*er- (GI) 'swallow,' Latin vorō 'I swallow,' Sanskrit giráti 'swallows,' Armenian eker 'ate.' Cf. also *g*rī-uā 'neck,' Old Church Slavic griva 'mane,' Avestan grīvā 'neck (of a demon),' Sanskrit grīvā 'neck.'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Volgaic *kurk3, Finnish kurkku, Estonian kurk, Mordvin korga.

ALTAIC: Mongolian: Kalmyk *gürä. Tungus: Manchu gurexe 'visible vein or neck of horned cattle,' Nanai guruxe 'nape.'

GILYAK qorqr.

• IS 335, N 91, MR 9, BK 361

391. TIE₁ maki

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mei- 'tie, connect,' Latvian meju 'drive in a stake,' Sanskrit minóti 'fastens in the ground.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *muk'e 'tie up, wrap up,' *mak'o 'to wind, twist, bend,' Turkic: Old Turkic ba ~ bay-la. Middle Mongolian muku-'tie up, wrap up,' Written Mongolian muqulai-da- 'tie up,' Khal-kha muxlaj-da- 'tie up.' Proto-Tungus *makti- 'to wind (ropes), to wrap up (cloth), to bend, wrap,' Ulch maqti-la 'wind ropes,' Manchu mači- 'wrap cloth,' Negidal makči-nda- 'wind rope,' Nanai maxči-ra- 'wind rope.'

MIDDLE KOREAN mòy, mæy-ta 'ties, fastens' (Ramsey), mëi ~ mäi ~ ma 'tie, wrap' (Patrie 4.15.4), mukk-ta 'ties, fastens together' (MLC 670). Cf. also Middle Korean moka- 'bundle, numerative for bundles,' modern Korean mogami 'bundle,' mogä (numerative for bundles).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese mak- 'tie into, wind around, to wrap.'

GILYAK may- 'to moor, to land.'

• SM 241. Variants in -y and -k are both found, sometimes in the same language (e.g. Korean).

392. TIE₂ kil

PROTO-ALTAIC *k'juli 'to wind, plait,' Proto-Turkic *kül(t)- 'spool, skein, sheaf,' Turkish küleš 'spool,' Tatar kültə 'spool,' Turkmen kültem 'spool.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian küli-

'bind,' Kalmyk külə- 'bind,' Khalkha xüle 'bind.' Proto-Tungus *xil(i)- 'to plait, braid,' Nanai, Orok sili- 'to plait,' Ulch silu- 'to plait,' Evenki ilča- 'to plait.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *k'ila 'fetters,' Proto-Turkic *Kile- 'to hobble, fetters, board,' Old Turkic kiše 'hobble,' Tatar kištä 'board,' Chuvash kašta 'board.' Middle Mongolian kelbeyür 'chock, boot-tree,' Written Mongolian kelbe 'chock,' Khalkha xelbūr 'chock.' Proto-Tungus *xil- 'fur collar,' Manchu ilten 'collar,' Ulch sini 'collar,' Orok sinni 'collar,' Evenki inman 'halter.'

?MIDDLE KOREAN kal 'fetters,' modern Korean khal 'fetters.'

?OLD JAPANESE $kasi \sim kase$ 'fetters, shackles,' modern Japanese kase 'fetters, shackles.'

Chukotian: Chukchi kəlt(-ək), qəlyiqəl 'chain, connection,' Koryak kilt- 'tie,' kiltikil 'bundle.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut qisat- 'tie,' qilʁi- 'coil, bend,' qilʁi-χ 'umbilical cord,' Proto-Eskimo *qiləʁ-, Sirenik qiləχqaʁətə-, Naukan, Central Siberian Yupik, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik qiləχtə-, North Alaskan Inuit qil'qq, Western Canadian Inuit qiliq-, Grcenlandic qiliʁ-. Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *kəluy 'seam, stitch,' Sirenik kəluk 'stitch,' Naukan, Alutiiq kəluk 'seam,' Central Siberian Yupik, Central Alaskan Yupik kəluk 'stitch,' North Alaskan Inuit kil'uk 'stitch, seam,' Greenlandic kiluk 'stitch, seam.'

• Variants in k- and q- of what appears to be the same root occur in both Chukotian and Eskimo-Aleut. A similar variation between k and q occurs in interrogative pronouns in Chukotian and Eskimo-Aleut, as discussed in Volume 1: 223–24.

393. $TIME_1$ tuki

PROTO-ALTAIC *č'įāk'e, Proto-Turkic *čiāk 'time, measure,' *čāk ~ *čāy (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic čak, Turkish čay, Chuvash čuχ, Yakut sax. Middle Mongolian čax, Written Mongolian čay, Khalkha, Kalmyk cag, Dagur čag(i), Monguor čag. Proto-Tungus *čik- 'grown up,' Manchu čiqsin 'grown up.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean čək 'time when' (quasi-free form, MLC 1423).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese toki 'time, when.' AINU $\check{c}ik(i)$ 'time when.'

• SM 242, 243

394. TIME₂ pak

KOREAN tan-pak 'a single time' (Patrie), 'at once, immediately' (MLC 396).

AINU paki (Batchelor).

395. TIRED₁ ali

Proto-Altaic *āle 'weak, tired,' Proto-Turkic *al- 'to be bad, crazy, weak, confused, uncertain,' Old Turkic alaŋ-a-δ 'become weak,' Turkish alu 'weak,' Tatar ala-ma 'bad, old.' Middle Mongolian al-da- 'get tired,' Written Mongolian alǯija 'get tired,' Khalkha alǯa- 'get tired,' Dagur alšē 'get tired,' Kalmyk almā 'disturbed.' Proto-Tungus *āli- 'get tired,' Negidal ālī- 'get tired,' Nanai, Orok āli- 'get tired.'

MIDDLE KOREAN əli- 'be foolish, mistaken,' modern Korean əli-sək- 'be foolish.'

OLD JAPANESE oro-ka 'foolish,' modern Japanese oroka 'foolish.' AINU araka 'ache, be in pain.'

GILYAK al 'be tired.'

CHUKOTIAN: ?Chukchi ar 'sick,' Northeastern Kamchadal il'zal' 'pain' (Radliński). The Chukchi form is problematical since Eurasiatic *1 usually appears as 1 in Chukchi.

396. TIRED₂ par

URALIC: Proto-Ugric *psys-rs ~ *pyrky (Benkő 1993).

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'āra 'be tired,' Proto-Turkic *ār- 'be tired,' Proto-Turkish *(h)ār 'be exhausted' (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic ar-, Turkmen ār-, Chuvash ir-, Yakut īr- 'become lean.' Middle Mongolian hari- 'be tired, exhausted,' Written Mongolian ari-, Khalkha argi-, Kalmyk ar-ya-. Proto-Tungus *paru- 'to faint, feel giddy,' Manchu fara- 'feel giddy,' Nanai farinda- 'feel giddy,' Evenki harū- 'feel giddy,' Even hāru 'be dizzy.'

MIDDLE KOREAN phal- 'to be lean, emaciated,' modern Korean phali-hada 'be thin, emaciated' (MLC 1730).

OLD JAPANESE pata- 'be exhausted.'

GILYAK p'er 'become tired.'

Chukotian: Chukchi pälqät 'become old,' Koryak pelqetekn 'become old.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *palu- 'be lying on one's stomach,' Naukan palu- 'lie on the stomach,' Alutiiq palu- 'be sad,' Central Alaskan Yupik palu- 'starve,' North Alaskan Inuit palu 'be depressed, in bad condition,' Greenlandic palu- 'lie on the stomach.'

• Poppe 1960: 96

397. TOOTH ni

PROTO-ALTAIC * $\acute{n}VjV$, Tungus: Manchu $\acute{n}a$ - $si\sim \acute{n}a$ -sha 'gums (of the teeth)' (literally, 'tooth-skin').

MIDDLE KOREAN *ni*, modern Korean *i*; in South Korea it is spelled *ni*).

AINU *ni-rus* 'gum' (literally, 'tooth-skin').

GILYAK ny-ys 'teeth' (according to Panfilov 1962–65, I: 103, -ys is a collective suffix).

398. TOUCH/TASTE sap

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *sap-, *sep- (W) 'to taste, come to know,' Latin sapiō 'I taste of,' sapiens 'wise, knowing,' Oscan sipus 'knowing,' Old Norse sefi 'sense.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *šįāp'a 'to grip (with claws),' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian sabur 'bird's claws, fork,' Khalkha savar 'claws,' Monguor sawar 'claws,' Dagur sabər 'claws.' Proto-Tungus *šip- 'handful, to pinch, take a handful, clutch, pick with a finger, lick,' Manchu sefere 'handful, pinch,' Nanai sefele-'clutch,' Ulch čipeči- 'pick with a finger,' Evenki čīw- 'lick.'

OLD JAPANESE sapar- 'to touch,' modern Japanese sawar-u 'touch.' AINU sap-ke 'to taste.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *cavət- 'touch, feel,' Alutiiq cauxtə- 'touch,' Central Siberian Yupik saaftə- 'touch, feel,' North Alaskan Inuit savit- 'touch,' Greenlandic savit- 'touch.'

399. TREE muk

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *bük 'wood, forest,' *bük 'tree' (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic bük, Turkish bük 'hill.'

Chukotian: Chukchi umkuum ~ umkət 'forest,' Koryak umkən 'forest.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Central Alaskan Yupik *muʁak* 'wood, log, stick' (not found in Fortescue et al.).

400. TRUNK (TREE) tunke

PROTO-URALIC *tiŋe 'end of the trunk, thick end of a tree,' *tüŋe (Collinder 1955) 'butt, base,' Finnish tyvi 'end of the trunk,' Estonian tüvi 'thick end,' Cheremis təŋ 'end of the trunk,' Udmurt diŋ 'thick part of a tree trunk,' Komi-Zyrian din 'thick end of a tree,' Hungarian tő 'stem, trunk.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'umge 'base of a tree trunk,' *Tömgek 'stump,' Chuvash tumgada 'stump,' Tatar tümgäk 'stump,' Turkmen töŋŋe 'stump,' Yakut töŋürgäs 'stump.' Middle Mongolian döŋ(ge) 'prop, support,' Written Mongolian döŋ 'support, prop,' Khalkha döŋgö 'neck cangue,' Kalmyk döŋ 'support,' Dagur duŋgu 'support.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tuŋ- 'base of a tree trunk,' modern Korean tuŋčhi 'base of a tree trunk.'

CHUKOTIAN: Koryak tuŋk- 'trunk end, thick end.'

• IS 344

401. TURN₁ tur

Proto-Indo-European *tuer-, *twer- (W) 'turn, circle, stir,' Old High German dweran 'turn about quickly,' Old English thweran 'stir, churn.' Cf. also *terk*- 'twist,' Hittite tarkuwai- 'turn oneself, dance,' Latin torqueō 'I twist, wind,' Old English thræstan 'turn, twist,' Albanian tjerr 'spin,' Tocharian B tärk- 'twist around.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *tolu 'turn round, spin,' *törV- (Illich-Svitych) 'circle around,' Proto-Turkic *dolga- 'twist, wrap around,' Old Turkic tolya- 'twist,' Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen dola- 'twist.'

MIDDLE KOREAN tola-ka 'return,' tola-po 'look back,' tōl- 'revolve,' tuli 'surround,' modern Korean tolo 'back, again' (MLC 464).

- OLD JAPANESE yor- 'twist,' modern Japanese yoru 'twist.'
- AINU rura 'deliver, bring back to' (dialects 6–7, Hattori 80: 6), Sakhalin trura 'bring back,' rura 'return a borrowed thing' (Dobrotvorskij).
 - SM 246, IS 333

402. TURN₂ kul

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *k*wel-, *k*hwel- (GI) 'turn (knee), kneel, knee,' Luwian ku(wa)lai-, Old Church Slavic kolěno 'knee,' Albanian sjell 'turn around,' Avestan čaraiti 'circulates.'
- PROTO-URALIC *kol'a (Illich-Svitych) 'circle,' Finnish koljat 'necklace,' Selkup kol'a 'circle.'
- Proto-Altaic *k'ulo 'to roll, turn,' *kol'V (Illich-Svitych) 'turn, revolve, mix,' Proto-Turkic *Kul- 'roll (down), fall, round,' ?Yakut kul- 'to walk around.' Middle Mongolian kol-kida- 'go round and round, be restless,' Written Mongolian qolkida- 'go round and round,' Khalkha xolxi- 'go round and round,' Kalmyk xolgedə- 'go round and round.' Proto-Tungus *xolo- 'turn around, walk around,' Nanai xōli 'turn around,' Orok, Ulch xōli- 'turn around,' Evenki uli-sin 'bend of a river.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN $kuwil-\sim kuul-$ 'roll,' modern Korean kulu-ta 'roll (intr.)' (MLC 199), $k\bar{u}lli-ta$ 'roll (tr.)' (MLC 217), kkulh-ta 'kneel' (MLC 219).
- OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese korob- 'roll,' kuru- 'reel, wind, spin,' kuru-ma 'wheel,' kurukuru 'round and round.'
- GILYAK kulkul 'squint, be cross-eyed,' Sakhalin kulkullus 'wheel' (Glehn), Southeast Sakhalin kulxk'ulx 'wheel.'
- Chukotian: Koryak kul 'roll,' Kamchadal k'ele 'to circle,' k'elanom 'wheel,' k'ele-ka-s 'to turn, circle.'
 - IS 345, N 202, BR 8

403. TURN/ROUND eka

Proto-Altaic *egi ~ *ege ~ *ega 'to bend,' Proto-Turkic *eg- 'to bend,' *äg 'to bend' (Räsänen 1969), Old Turkic, Turkmen eg- 'to bend,' Chuvash av- ~ aj- 'to bend,' Yakut ïaχ- 'to bend.' Middle Mongolian e'emek 'ring,' Written Mongolian egeg 'corner,' ege-meg 'ring,' Khalkha ēg 'corner,' ēmeg 'ring,' Kalmyk

ēg 'corner,' ēməg 'ring.' Proto-Tungus *ege- 'surround, encircle, go round, ring,' Evenki eye-l- 'go round, surround,' Negidal eg-di 'ring,' Ulch eje- 'encircle, go round,' Orok eji- 'go round, surround.'

KOREAN kko-ta 'twist, twine' (MLC 137).

AINU eka 'twist' (Dobrotvorskij).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut iku-lix 'to turn in a different direction, turn around, turn back,' Proto-Eskimo *akðay- 'roll over, turn over,' Naukan akakə- 'roll,' Central Siberian Yupik akamka 'circle,' Alutiiq akay- 'roll,' akayŋa- 'be round,' Central Alaskan Yupik akay- 'roll,' akalsia 'wheel,' North Alaskan Inuit akšak- 'roll,' Greenlandic aššakas- 'turn over, roll over.'

404. TWO₁ tu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*du\bar{o}(u)$, *dwo- (W), *t'wo- (GI), Latin duo, Old English $t\bar{u}$, Crimean Gothic tua, Old Prussian dwai, Old Church Slavic $d\check{u}va$, Avestan dva.

URALIC: Pre-Balto-Finnic *to-ńće 'second,' Finnish toinen 'second,' Estonian teine 'second.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *tiubu, Proto-Turkic *TVbVr- 'second,' Old Turkic tvirem 'second,' Chuvash teberem 'second.' Middle Mongolian $\check{z}i$ -rin, Written Mongolian $\check{z}i$ ren, Dagur $\check{z}\bar{u}r(\bar{u})$ 'pair,' Monguor $\check{z}u$ ru. Proto-Tungus * $\check{z}u$ be-, Orok du, Manchu $\check{z}u$ we, Negidal $\check{z}u$ l, Nanai $z\bar{u}$, Evenki $d\bar{u}$ -tə 'part, become two (of a road or river).'

MIDDLE KOREAN $t\bar{u}lh \sim t\bar{u}$, modern Korean $t\bar{u}$ -lh, $t\bar{u}$ - before numerals and classifiers, $t\bar{u}$ 'alternate shape of tu-lh as a prenominal, two, a couple,' e.g. $t\bar{u}$ salam 'two people.'

AINU tu.

$405. \text{ TWO}_2 \text{ ki}$

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *-me-k 'we' (cf. *-te-k 'you [plural]'), Hungarian -k (plural), Saami -k (plural), Ostyak -k(-an) (dual), Enets $k(-an) \sim k(-ai)$ (dual), Selkup -qi (dual).

YUKAGHIR tkit '2,' Yukaghir ki '2.'

ALTAIC: Proto-Turkic *ek(k)i, Old Turkic eki, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen iki, Tatar ike, Chuvash ikke, Yakut ikki. Middle Mon-

- golian (h)ekire 'twins,' Written Mongolian ikere \sim ikire 'twins,' Khalkha ixer 'twins.'
- GILYAK me-gi 'we 2' (cf. me-r 'we inc.'), -ki 'and.'
- Chukotian: Chukchi -mA-k 'we,' -tA-k 'you (plural)' (verb suffixes).
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo-Aleut *-mi-k 'we 2,' *-ti-k 'you 2,' Eskimo -k (dual), Aleut -k (dual).
- \bullet MR 20. See Volume 1: 101–6 for a discussion of the grammaticalization of this root.

406. UNDER₁ ala

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *au-lo-s, h₂eluos (MA) 'elongated, hollow, cavity,' Hittite halluwa 'deep, hollow, pit,' Old Prussian aulinis 'leg of a boot,' Old Church Slavic ulica 'alley,' Armenian ul 'way.'
- PROTO-URALIC *ala 'space underneath, the under part, under,' Finnish ala 'place,' alla 'under,' Estonian ala 'space under, ground,' Saami vuolle 'down,' Mordvin ala 'under, below,' Cheremis ül-, Udmurt ul 'place underneath,' Komi-Zyrian ul, Ostyak il 'below,' Vogul jalk 'below,' Hungarian al-, Proto-Samoyed *ilə 'ground, under,' Tavgy ilea 'ground,' Kamassian ilde 'ground,' Enets iro 'ground,' Selkup il(i) 'ground.' Cf. also Proto-Uralic *l\vec{v}\ (\vec{v}\ \text{ indicates an unspecifiable front vowel) 'under, the under part,' Cheremis ləw\vec{a}l, Hungarian l\vec{e}\ 'down.'
- Yukaghir: Kolyma, Tundra -al. Cf. also Kolyma le-de 'further downstream,' le-luke 'a little below,' le-dude 'downwards, downstream.'
- Proto-Altaic *ale 'below, lower,' Proto-Turkic *al 'lowerside, below, lower,' Old Turkic altin 'below,' Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani alt 'below,' Yakut alin 'below.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *uli ~ *oli 'sole of the foot,' Proto-Turkic *ul 'sole,' Old Turkic, Turkmen oltan 'sole,' ul 'foundation,' Turkish oltan 'sole,' Yakut ullun 'sole.' Middle Mongolian olmi 'front part of the sole,' Written Mongolian ölmei 'sole,' Khalkha ölmij 'sole.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN alai 'below, lower side,' modern Korean alä 'below' (MLC 1069). Middle Korean -i is the Eurasiatic locative (Greenberg 1990: 153–54). Ramstedt (1939: 151) also interprets this -i as a petrified locative.

- OLD JAPANESE or- 'to lower, descend, go down,' modern Japanese ori- 'to lower,' Ryukyuan uri(-yuŋ).
- AINU ra-ta 'below'; ra 'down (direction)' ra \sim ra-ta \sim ra-wa 'region underneath' (dialects 8, 9, Hattori 239: 42), Kuriles ra(n) 'under.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *alu(\varepsilon) 'sole,' Naukan alut 'sole of foot,' Central Alaskan Yupik alu(q) 'sole of boot or foot,' North Alaskan Inuit alu 'sole,' Greenlandic aluq 'sole,' alut 'underside of sled runners'; Proto-Inuit *alaq 'sole,' North Alaskan Inuit alaaq 'sole of an animal's paw,' alannaaq 'palm of hand,' Greenlandic alaaq 'sole, sledge shoeing.'
 - SM 68

407. UNDER₂ aca

PROTO-URALIC *eć3- 'to fall,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian uś- 'fall,' Vogul is- 'alight (a bird),' Hungarian es- 'fall,' Selkup êsta- 'let fall,' Kamassian wzw- 'fall.'

ALTAIC: Turkic: Turkish as-ra 'downwards,' Kirghiz as-t 'bottom, down,' Karaim as-t 'lower part.'

KOREAN sä 'sod, turf' (MLC 918).

OLD JAPANESE s-u 'extreme or lower part of anything.'

AINU asa- $m \sim asa$ -ma 'bottom, foundation'; sa- $n \sim sa$ -p 'descend,' asa-m 'under, below' (dialect 8, Hattori 239: 41), so 'floor' (dialects 1, 3, 7, Hattori 103: 36), asam 'bottom, depths' (dialects 1–9, Hattori 240: 43).

GILYAK řa-mi 'in the deep water.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal sa-lk 'behind,' izu 'under, low,' Southern Kamchadal ačangen (plural ačanid) 'sole of the foot,' ečenym 'sole of the shoe' (Radliński).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ac-a 'the lower part of it,' sam- 'down below, down-slope (in place names),' Proto-Eskimo *aci 'area below,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik aci- 'area below,' Naukan, Central Siberian Yupik asi- 'area below'; Proto-Eskimo *cam- 'down below, down-slope,' Sirenik, Naukan, North Alaskan Inuit samna 'down below, down-slope,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik cam-na 'down below, down-slope,' Greenlandic san-na 'down below, down-slope.'

• As can be seen, this root often occurs with the common Eurasiatic locative in *m*.

408. URINE otu

PROTO-ALTAIC *uč'u 'urine, spray,' Proto-Turkic *uč- 'waterfall spray,' Tatar očok 'spray.' Proto-Tungus *uče- 'diarrhoea,' Negidal učel- 'have diarrhoea,' Ulch uče 'diarrhoea,' Nanai uce 'diarrhoea,' Evenki učen 'diarrhoea.'

MIDDLE KOREAN očom 'urine, urinary bladder.'

GILYAK: East Sakhalin otyx (Shternberg), Southern Sakhalin ot'x 'excrement' (Austerlitz).

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ?ətt (Bogoras), ?əttyt (Moll), Koryak əttət. ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut tuyaδiq, Proto-Eskimo *ətəqus, Sirenik təqəχ, Alutiiq ətquq, Central Alaskan Yupik təqquq, North Alaskan Inuit ɨtisuq 'sour urine, ammonia,' Greenlandic itisuq 'stale urine.'

409. VILLAGE palg

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *pel-, *pel- (W), *phel- (GI) 'fortress,' Greek pólis 'city,' Lithuanian pilìs 'fortress, castle,' Sanskrit púram 'wall, fortress, city.'

Proto-Uralic *palyV (Illich-Svitych) 'settlement, dwelling,' Karelian palvi 'dwelling, place of residence,' Proto-Ugric *paly3 'village' Vogul paul 'dwelling,' Ostyak puyəl 'dwelling.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *pialigV 'group of houses, fortress,' Proto-Turkic *bialik 'city, fortress,' Old Turkic baliq 'city,' Chuvash püler 'city.' Middle Mongolian balaxasun 'city, fortress,' Written Mongolian balayasun 'city,' Khalkha balgas 'city,' Dagur balga 'house, dwelling place, ground.' Proto-Tungus *palVga 'group of houses,' Manchu falga ~ falka 'family, village.'

?GILYAK pry (1 rather than r would be expected).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut *ula-\chi* 'house, dwelling' (with the normal loss of initial h < *f).

• IS 356, N 368, BK 55

410. WALK men

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *men- 'trample, step on,' Latvian minu 'walk, step, tan (hides),' Lithuanian minù 'walk, step,' Old Church Slavic muno 'compress.'

PROTO-URALIC *mene- 'go, travel,' Finnish mene- 'go,' Estonian mine- 'go,' Saami mânnâ- 'go, travel,' Cheremis mije- 'come, go,' Udmurt min- 'go,' Komi-Zyrian mun- 'go,' Ostyak měn- 'go,' Vogul miń- 'go,' Hungarian měn 'go,' Yurak miń- 'go,' Tavgy mende- 'go,' Kamassian mən- 'go.'

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma män-'jump, leap.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *meŋa 'to run, trot,' Proto-Turkic *baŋ 'to trot, ride,' Old Turkic man- ~ maŋ- 'a step,' Tartar maŋda 'run,' Oirat maŋta 'gallop,' Yakut maŋij- 'trot.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian, Khalkha meŋde- 'to hurry, scurry.' Proto-Tungus *meŋ- 'to hurry,' Evenki meŋiw- 'hurry,' Even men(u)- 'hurry,' Manchu muŋre- 'to run (of cattle).'

Chukotian: Kamchadal emeneŋ 'a step.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *maŋiʁ- 'get to move,' Western Canadian Inuit maŋat 'run away (game, caribou),' Eastern Canadian Inuit maŋat- 'move a little,' Greenlandic maŋat- 'order, enjoin to do something.'

• N 295, MR 27

411. WASH₁ lak

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *leh₂- (MA) 'pour, wet, make flow,' Hittite laḥḥuzi 'pours, overflows.' Cf. also *lou-, *leu(ə)- (W), *loH^w- (GI), *leuh₃- (MA) 'wash,' Latin lavō 'I wash, bathe,' Greek loūō 'wash,' Armenian loganam 'bathe, wash myself.'

Chukotian: Koryak -ləy- 'wash,' $(n - 2) \log (-q - q)$ 'white, pure.'

• BK 582

412. WASH₂ sus

PROTO-ALTAIC *susi 'to wash, scoop,' Proto-Turkic *sus- 'scoop (n. and v.), bucket,' Old Turkic susiq 'bucket,' Yakut usājax 'scoop.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *šiuba 'water,' Proto-Turkic *sib 'water,' Chuvash šiv 'water,' Old Turkic, Turkmen suv 'water,' Tatar siw 'water,' Turkish, Azerbaijani su 'water,' Yakut ū 'wa-

- ter.' Middle Mongolian usun 'water,' Written Mongolian usu 'water,' Khalkha us 'water,' Kalmyk usn 'water,' Monguor fuzu 'water.' Proto-Tungus *šobī- 'foam, saliva, sprinkle,' Manchu so- 'sprinkle,' Evenki čowī-ksa 'foam, saliva.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN sis- \sim sis- 'to wash,' modern Korean ssis 'washes, cleanses, wipe out, clean oneself' (MLC 1065).
- OLD JAPANESE susu-k-, modern Japanese susugu. Cf. also Japanese su(-ru) 'rub,' Ryukyuan si-yung 'rub.'
- AINU sus; sus 'take a bath' (Hattori 101: 14, dialects 1, 6, 8), sus-te 'to bathe' (dialect 9).
- GILYAK t'u 'wash,' Southeastern Gilyak su 'wash.'

413. WATER₁ ape

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ăp-, *ap- (W), *Haph- (GI) 'living water, river,' Hittite ḥapa- 'river,' Old Prussian ape 'river,' Sanskrit áp, Tocharian A, B āp- 'river.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *p'jage 'rain,' Proto-Turkic *jag(-mur) 'rain,' Old Turkic, Turkish jaymur 'rain,' Tatar jaŋgɨr 'rain,' Azerbaijani jayɨs 'rain,' Turkmen jagɨs 'rain,' Chuvash śumar 'rain,' Yakut samɨr 'rain.' Middle Mongolian (h)aya- 'heavy rain,' Written Mongolian ayadar 'heavy rain,' Khalkha ādar 'heavy rain.' Proto-Tungus *pigi-n 'storm,' Nanai piugi- 'to storm,' Ulch piwsu(n) 'storm,' Evenki xigin 'storm,' Negidal xiyin 'storm.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean pi 'rain' (MLC 848). AINU pe 'water.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *ipəʁ- ~ *ivəʁ- 'wade or step into water,' Sirenik iʁvə- 'wade,' Alutiiq iwəʁ- 'wade,' Central Alaskan Yupik ivəʁ 'step in water,' North Alaskan Inuit ipiʁaq 'wade,' Greenlandic ipiʁaaʁ- 'wade.'

414. WATER₂ akwa

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *akwā-, *ekhw- (GI) 'water, river,' Latin aqua, Old High German aha 'river, water,' Old English ēa 'river, water.' Cf. also *ēghw- (W) 'drink,' Hittite ekuzzi 'he/she drinks,' akuwanzi 'they drink,' Luwian aku 'drink,' Palaic axu 'drink,' Tocharian A, B yoktsi 'drink.'
- PROTO-URALIC *yoka 'river,' Finnish joki 'river,' Estonian jõgi

'river,' Saami $jqkk\hat{a}$ - 'river,' Udmurt ju-šur 'river,' Komi-Zyrian ju 'river,' Ostyak $ja\chi$ 'river,' Vogul $j\bar{a}$ 'river,' Hungarian $j\acute{o}$ (only in place names) 'river,' Yurak $ja\chi\bar{a}$ 'river,' Enets d'aha 'river,' Selkup $k\bar{l}k\ddot{a}$ 'river,' Kamassian $\acute{c}a\gamma a$ 'river.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *jak'a ~ *jaka 'liquid, flow,' Proto-Turkic *iak- 'to flow,' Old Turkic ak- 'to flow,' Turkmen aq- 'to flow,' Chuvash joχ- 'to flow.' Proto-Tungus *jaku ~ *iaku 'brook,' Manchu jōχon 'swamp, ditch,' Nanai jaqčira 'brook,' Evenki jakta 'brook,' jaku 'swamp, ditch.' Cf. also Proto-Altaic *uk'u ~ *uku 'wet, wash,' Middle Mongolian ukija 'to wash,' Written Mongolian ugija- 'wash,' Khalkha, Dagur ugā- 'wash,' Kalmyk uyā- 'wash.' Proto-Tungus *uk- 'get wet, wet,' Nanai, Ulch uksi 'wet,' Evenki uksu- 'wet,' Even oqti- 'to wash.'

?MIDDLE KOREAN həi- (< *uhəi-) 'swim,' modern Korean hejəmčhi- 'swim.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese aka 'bilge water.' aka means 'bilge water' and 'dirt,' but they are written with different kanji. Cf. also Old Japanese $uk \sim ukap$ - 'float,' modern Japanese $uku \sim ukabu$ 'float.'

AINU wakka ~ akka ~ aka 'water,' ku 'drink.'

GILYAK yg 'water,' j-yg 'drinks it.'

Сникотіан: Northeast Kamchadal ax 'soup' (Radliński).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *a\vec{\vec{\vec{u}}}i(t)- 'become wet,' Sirenik a\vec{\vec{u}}im- \vec{\vec{v}}uka\vec{\vec{u}}- 'become very wet,' Alutiiq a\vec{\vec{u}}i- 'become soggy, wet,' North Alaskan Inuit a\vec{\vec{u}}it- 'become wet or damp.'

• N 139, BR 27

415. WATER₃ mor

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *mori \sim *mōri, *mori- (W), *mor- \sim *mar- (GI) 'sea,' Old Irish muir 'sea,' Welsh môr 'sea,' Latin mare 'sea,' Old High German *mari 'sea,' Lithuanian mãrė 'sea,' Old Church Slavic morje 'sea,' ?Hittite marmar(r)a- 'swamp, body of water overgrown with vegetation.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *miūri ~ *miūri, Middle Mongolian muren, Written Mongolian mören, Khalkha mörön, Kalmyk mörn, Dagur mur(e), Monguor murōn. Proto-Tungus *mū, Manchu, Nanai muke, Evenki, Orok, Ulch mū, Ju-chen mo, Even mö.

MIDDLE KOREAN mɨl, modern Korean mul (MLC 675).

OLD JAPANESE midu, modern Japanese mizu, mi-giwa 'beach,' mi-na-to 'harbor, port.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi, Koryak miməl 'water,' iml 'pour water.'

• Poppe 1960: 35, SM 257, IS 334, N 294, BK 530

416. WATER4 wet

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *aued- ~ *aud- ~ *ud-, *wed- (W), *wet- (GI), Hittite wātar (genitive singular wetenas), Sanskrit udan-, Phrygian bedu, Gothic watō (genitive singular watins), Latin unda 'wave,' Old English wæter, Old Church Slavic voda, Armenian get 'river.'

PROTO-URALIC *wete, Finnish, Estonian vesi, Mordvin wət, Udmurt vu, Komi-Zyrian va, Vogul wit, Hungarian víz, Proto-Samoyed *wit, Yurak (Forest) wit, Enets bî?, Tavgy bê', Selkup üt, Taigi, Karagas bu, Kamassian, Koibal bü, Proto-Samoyed *wit3- 'drink (water), 'Enets biríbo 'drink,' Selkup ütigo 'drink.'

PROTO-ALTAIC * $udV \sim *odV$ 'rain,' Proto-Tungus *udu-n 'rain (with wind),' Evenki udun 'rain,' Even udən 'rain.'

AINU owata.

• IS 334, BK 483

417. WAVE (n.) koy

?URALIC: Samoyed: Enets koi 'hill,' Yurak hoi 'hill.'

AINU koi 'waves'; koy 'waves' (all dialects, Hattori 29: 49), kaykay (dialects 1, 3).

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *qaya(s) 'wave (breaker),' Sirenik qayay 'breakers,' Naukan qai 'wave, storm,' Central Alaskan Yupik qaiq 'wave,' North Alaskan Inuit qai 'ocean wave.'

418. WEAK pan

AINU pan 'be light, thin' (dialects 1-3, Hattori 290: 17).

Chukotian: Chukchi paŋa 'be tired,' Koryak peŋe 'be tired.'

419. WEAVE₁ pata

PROTO-ALTAIC *p'ot'a 'rope, wool, yarn,' Middle Mongolian xuda-

sun 'thread,' Written Mongolian uta-su 'thread,' Khalkha utas 'thread,' Kalmyk utsn 'thread,' Monguor $sd\bar{a}za$ 'thread.' Proto-Tungus *put- 'thread, rope,' Manchu futa 'thread,' Nanai putu 'lap,' Ulch putu(n) 'lap.'

MIDDLE KOREAN patai 'comb of a loom,' modern Korean padi 'loom,' padak 'cloth.' Cf. also Korean cca (< *pca, MLC 1374) 'weave,' ccah (dial.) 'weave.'

OLD JAPANESE pata 'loom,' modern Japanese hata 'loom, woven cloth.'

GILYAK fiti-s 'clothing.'

• SM 258

420. WEAVE₂ ur

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *(s) uer-, *wer- (W), *(h2) uer- (MA) 'tie, adjoin, hang up,' Lithuanian veriù 'I thread,' Latvian vert 'thread,' Old Church Slavic vuvreti 'push in.' Cf. also *uer-g 'to turn (tr.).'

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *work3- 'sew, stich,' Cheremis urge-'sew,' Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian vur- 'sew,' Hungarian varr- 'sew.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *ōre 'to weave, plait,' Proto-Turkic *ōr- 'to plait,' Old Turkic, Yakut ör- 'plait,' Turkmen ōr- 'to plait.' Middle Mongolian öre- 'to plait,' ormege 'soft woolen cloth,' Written Mongolian örmöge 'cloth,' Kalmyk örməg 'cloth,' örmōči 'weaver.'

MIDDLE KOREAN ōl 'strands of rope,' modern Korean ōl 'strand, ply; warp' (MLC 1207), olk(-ta) 'ties, binds' (MLC 1209).

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese or- 'to weave.'

?GILYAK lu 'to plait' (usually Eurasiatic *r appears in Gilyak as r). ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut uli-lix 'to bend (a piece of wood into an arc)' (Bergsland), uli-kung 'I fold, turn up' (Geoghegan).

• SM 259

421. WEAVE₃ kir

Proto-Indo-European *kert- 'plait, twine, turn, twist,' Latin crātis 'wickerwork,' Old Norse hurð 'hurdle,' Sanskrit kṛṅátti 'spins.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *kera 'to bind, wind around,' Middle Mongolian

kere-'to bind, join, unite,' Written Mongolian kere-'bind,' Khalkha xere-'bind,' Kalmyk ker-'bind.' Proto-Tungus *kerge-'circle, ring,' Manchu xergi 'to reel,' Ulch kergi 'bunch,' kergin-'bind in bunches,' Orok, Negidal kejgeli 'circle,' Nanai kergi 'bunch.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese karam- 'wind around.'

AINU ikiri 'seam,' ikiri-kara 'to seam, sew.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *kəluy 'seam, stitch (n.),' Sirenik kələx 'stitch,' Naukan, Alutiiq kəluk 'seam,' Central Alaskan Yupik kəluk 'stitch,' North Alaskan Inuit kilyuk 'stitch, seam,' Greenlandic kiluk 'stitch, seam.'

422. WEEP ter

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *dher- ~ *dhereu- ~ *dhrēn-, *dher- (W) 'murmur, growl, boom,' Greek thrēnos 'weeping,' Latin drēnsō 'cry (of a swan),' Old English drān 'a drone,' Sanskrit dhráṇati 'resounds.' Cf. also *der- with similar meanings. The Celtic, Tokharian, and Balto-Slavic reflexes could derive from *der or *dher.

PROTO-ALTAIC *t'iaru 'to curse,' Proto-Turkic *terk- 'to curse, despise,' Turkish, Turkmen terk 'curse,' Tatar tirgä- 'curse,' Chuvash tirge- 'curse,' Azerbaijani tärk 'deny.' Middle Mongolian tark- 'to curse,' Written Mongolian tarki-da- 'curse,' Khalkha tarxida- 'curse.' Proto-Turkic *turē 'to curse, speak,' Evenki turē- 'curse,' Even töre- 'curse,' Negidal tūjē- 'curse.'

Chukotian: Chukchi $teryat(\ni k)$, teryet 'crying,' Koryak (Palana) $tej\eta at$.

423. WET₁ meu

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *meu- ~ *meu> ~ * $m\check{u}$ -, * $m(e)uh_x$ - (MA) 'wet, unclean liquid, wash, clean,' Sanskrit $m\check{u}tra$ 'urine,' Lithuanian $m\check{a}udyti$ 'bathe,' Old Church Slavic myjq 'wash.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *āmu 'river,' Proto-Tungus *āmu- 'lake,' Evenki āmut 'lake,' Negidal amut 'lake,' Nanai amoa 'lake,' Even amar 'river,' Manchu omo 'lake.'

OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese umi 'sea.'

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *əmək(-) 'fresh water, to drink,'

Sirenik $\partial m \partial \chi$ 'fresh water,' $m \partial s$ - 'to drink,' Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik $\partial m \partial q$ 'fresh water,' $\partial m \partial s$ - 'to drink,' North Alaskan Inuit imiq 'fresh water,' Greenlandic imiq '(fresh) water.'

• N 298, BK 521

424. WET₂ $tuk \sim tek$

PROTO-ALTAIC *tiuk'e ~ *tiuke 'to pour,' Proto-Turkic *dök- 'pour out,' Old Turkic tök 'pour,' Turkish, Turkmen dök 'pour out,' Chuvash tok- 'pour out.'

KOREAN č'uk 'be damp, wet' (MLC 1635).

OLD JAPANESE tuk- 'soak, immerse,' modern Japanese tsugu 'soak, immerse.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal čk'ečk'e, Northern Kamchadal (dy-)ke-čke(-lu) 'I am wet' (Radliński).

PROTO-ESKIMO-ALEUT *ceqV, Aleut cixtaq 'rain,' ciqtukuq 'it is sloppy, muddy,' Proto-Inuit *ciiq- 'ooze out,' North Alaskan Inuit siiq- 'ooze, seep (like a sore), leak out (of air), sweat, perspire,' East Canadian Inuit (Labrador) siiq- 'let dampness go through.'

• SM 60

425. WIND₁ (v.) sari

Proto-Indo-European *ser-(p-), *serp- (W), *serph- (GI) 'sickle, hook,' Hittite sarpa- 'agricultural tool,' Latvian sirpis 'sickle,' Old Church Slavic srŭpŭ 'sickle.'

Proto-Altaic *sare 'be curved, coiled,' Proto-Turkic *sar- 'wind around,' Old Turkic saru- 'wind around,' Turkmen sara- 'wind around,' Chuvash sir- 'wind around,' Turkish, Karaim sar 'to circle, embrace,' Kazakh sary 'roll up,' Koman Osmanli saryk 'turban' (Räsänen 1969: 402). Middle Mongolian sariyu 'curved, winding,' Written Mongolian sariyu 'curved,' Khalkha sariu 'curved,' Kalmyk sarū 'curved.'

MIDDLE KOREAN, modern Korean sali 'to coil, wind into a ball; a counter for coils of ropes, or noodles' (MLC 873).

OLD JAPANESE sor- 'be curved, bent,' modern Japanese soru 'be curved.'

AINU saye 'a coil of rope'; saye 'to wind it, roll it' (dialects 2-4, 6),

sae (dialect 8, Hattori 145: 110).

426. WIND₂ (v.) kam

MIDDLE KOREAN kam- 'wind around,' modern Korean kām- 'winds, rolls, coils' (MLC 15), kama 'whirl of hair' (MLC 14).

OLD JAPANESE kum- 'to plait, intertwine, combine,' modern Japanese kum- 'braid, plait.'

AINU komo 'distorted, twisted,' komuje 'bind around.'

• SM 263

427. WINTER tel

URALIC: Proto-Finno-Ugric *tälwä, Finnish talvi, Estonian, Saami talv, Livonian tōla, Mordvin t'al'a, Cheremis tele, Udmurt tol, Komi-Zyrian tel, Ostyak těləy, Vogul tāl, Hungarian tél.

GILYAK t'ul-f (-f is a locative, hence the meaning is really 'in the winter').

428. WISH (v.) wel

Proto-Indo-European *qel- ~ *qlei- ~ *qlei, *wel- (W) 'wish, want,' Latin volō 'I want,' Old High German wellen 'want,' Lithuanian pa-vėlmi, Old Church Slavic veljo, Avestan var- 'wish, choose.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma -uol (optative), Omok -ol-.

ALTAIC: Tungus: Even ni-vel 'whoever,' Negidal ni-wel 'someone.'

Chukotian: Kamchadal -al' \sim -a (desiderative). The second form only occurs before s.

ESKIMO-ALEUT: Aleut ala- 'want, need,' Proto-Yupik *ala- 'desire,' ?Sirenik alaqa 'vagina,' Alutiiq ala(yuk)- 'be stingy,' Central Alaskan Yupik alakə- 'be attracted to a member of the opposite sex,' Seward Peninsula Inuit alaun 'lover (not spouse).'

• See Volume 1: 235 for a discussion of the grammaticalization of this root.

429. WOLF luk

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*u_lk^w$ -os, $*w_lk^w$ o-(W), $*w_lk^{hw}$ -(GI), Greek lúk-os, Sanskrit v_l kas, Latin lupus, Lithuanian vilk-s, Gothic

wulf-s, Old English wulf, Old High German wolf, Old Prussian wilkis, Latvian vilks, Old Church Slavic vlĭkŭ, Luwian walwa/i-'lion,' Tocharian B walkwe.

Proto-Uralic *luja 'marten,' Cheremis luj 'marten,' Proto-Samoyed *loka ~ *nokå 'fox,' Selkup loka 'marten,' Selkup (Tym) loqa 'fox,' Yurak (Tundra) noxo 'fox,' Kamassian nagabai 'lynx.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *luk'V 'lynx, wild cat,' *luka ~ *loka (Illich-Svitych) 'dog, fox,' Middle Mongolian nogu-yal 'young of lynx,' Written Mongolian noyuyal 'young of lynx,' Khalkha nogōl 'young of lynx.' Proto-Tungus *lukV 'lynx, blue fox, young lynx,' Manchu luka 'blue fox,' Evenki luku (dial.) 'lynx.'

MIDDLE KOREAN nik- 'jackal,' modern Korean $niktä \sim liktä$ 'jackal.' OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese neko 'cat.'

?AINU horokew.

GILYAK liy-s, West Sakhalin liy-ř, Southeast Sakhalin lix-ř.

Proto-Chukotian *lxəx-nə, Chukchi (l)?iy-nə, Koryak (l)hiy-ən, Aliutor (l)hiy, Western Kamchadal xiyna.

• IS 347, N 270.

430. WOMAN₁ eme

Proto-Uralic *emä 'mother, female,' Finnish emä 'mother,' Estonian ema 'mother,' Hungarian (dial.) eme 'female, sow,' Proto-Samoyed *emä 'mother,' Yurak ńeńe 'mother,' Taigi emma 'mother,' Tavgy ńame 'mother,' Selkup emi 'mother.' Cf. also Proto-Uralic *im³ 'old woman, grandmother,' Saami ibme 'wife of paternal or maternal uncle,' Ostyak imi 'old woman,' Tavgy imid'i 'grandmother,' Selkup ima 'old woman.'

Yukaghir: Kolyma emei 'mother.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *eme 'woman, female,' Proto-Turkic *eme 'female, old woman,' Chuvash ama 'old woman.' Middle Mongolian, Written Mongolian eme, Khalkha em, Kalmyk emə 'woman,' Dagur emeg, Monguor imu 'daughter.' Proto-Tungus *emV 'female,' Manchu emile 'female,' emeke 'mother-in-law,' Negidal umigde 'female deer,' Nanai emxe 'mother-in-law,' Evenki emugde 'female deer.'

MIDDLE KOREAN am 'woman, wife, female,' modern Korean əmə-ni (< əmə-nim, in which -nim is an honorific; MLC 1130). Cf. also

- əmi 'mother.'
- OLD Japanese me-su 'female,' Ryukyuan amma. Cf. also omo \sim amo 'mother.'
- GILYAK: Amur ymy(-k) 'mother,' Sakhalin ym(-k) 'mother.' -k is a vocative suffix.
- CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi əmmə (Bogoras 1922), əmme 'mother' (Moll).
- SM 145, BK 439. With the widespread vowel symbolic variation e feminine vs. a masculine (see Volume 1: 40–41, 52), we also have Yukaghir (Tundra) ama 'father' and Even aman 'father.'

431. WOMAN₂ kun

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *gwenā, *gwen- (W), *k'wen- (GI), Lydian kâna 'woman, wife,' Greek (Mycenaean) ku-na-ja, Armenian kin 'wife,' Old English cwen 'woman, wife,' English queen, Old High German quena 'wife,' Old Church Slavic žena 'wife,' Avestan gənā 'woman, wife,' Tocharian B śana.
- PROTO-ALTAIC *kune ~ *gune 'one of several wives,' Proto-Turkic *güni 'one of the wives in polygamy,' Old Turkic küni 'wife,' Kirghiz künü 'wife,' Azerbaijani günü 'wife,' Turkmen güni 'wife.' OLD JAPANESE konami 'first wife (by polygamy).'
- PROTO-ESKIMO-ALEUT *?aɛ(i)na-, Proto-Eskimo *aɛnaɛ, Naukan, Alutiiq, Central Alaskan Yupik, North Alaskan Inuit, Greenlandic aɛnaq. Cf. also Proto-Eskimo *iɛni- 'give birth' and *iɛnaɛ 'son.'
 - IS 340, N 178, BR 11, BK 347

432. WOOD ut

- ?PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN $*h_2ed(h)$ (MA) 'hawthorn,' Old Irish ad 'hawthorn, whitehorn,' Hittite hat(t)-alkisnas 'hawthorn, whitehorn.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *it'i 'board,' Middle Mongolian (h)ideyür 'trough,' Written Mongolian ideyür 'trough,' Khalkha idür 'trough.' Proto-Tungus *(x)ite 'board (on the bottom of a birch boat),' Negidal īte 'board,' Evenki ite 'board.'
- MIDDLE KOREAN tai 'bamboo,' modern Korean $t\ddot{a}$ 'bamboo' (MLC 418).
- OLD JAPANESE, modern Japanese ita 'board.'

GILYAK it' 'thick wooden dish.'

Chukotian: Chukchi utəut, Koryak uttəut, Kerek uttəŋa 'tree, wood,' Kamchadal uwt 'forest,' Southern Kamchadal uut 'firewood' (Radliński).

433. WORK sen

- PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *sen(e)- ~ *sene(u)- ~ *senə-, *senH- (GI) 'accomplish, seek, prepare, work out, bring up,' Hittite sanhzi 'seeks, plans, demands,' Old Irish do-seinn 'pursues, strives,' Avestan han- 'gain, obtain.'
- OLD JAPANESE sonapa- 'to present, offer (to the gods, etc.),' modern Japanese sonaeru 'present.'
- ESKIMO-ALEUT: Proto-Eskimo *cana- 'carve,' Sirenik $sana\chi t \bar{\sigma}$ 'process, manufacture,' Naukan sana- 'make, work,' Alutiiq cana- 'make, carve, put to use,' Central Alaskan Yupik $cana(\nu)$ 'carve wood, whittle,' North Alaskan Inuit sana 'whittle, carve,' Greenlandic sana- 'make, carve.'

434. WORM kurm

- Proto-Indo-European *kwrmī, *khwrmi- (GI) 'worm, maggot, insect,' Old Irish cruim, Lithuanian kirmìs, Old Church Slavic črĭvĭ, Albanian krimb, Sanskrit kŕmi 'worm, insect.'
- URALIC: Proto-Finno-Volgaic *karmɔ 'gadfly, maggot, worm,' Finnish kärpänen 'fly,' Estonian kärbane 'fly,' Livonian kärmi 'fly,' Mordvin karvo 'fly,' Cheremis karme 'fly.'
- PROTO-ALTAIC *k'jōru 'worm, gadfly,' *qorV (Illich-Svitych), Proto-Turkic *kūrt, Old Turkic qurt, Turkish kurt, Tatar kort, Azerbai-jani gurd, Turkmen gūrt, Chuvash xort, Yakut kurǯaya 'small parasites.' Middle Mongolian qoloxai 'worm, insect,' Written Mongolian qoroqai, Khalkha xorxoj, Dagur xorgō. Proto-Tungus *xirga- 'gadfly,' Evenki irgakta 'gadfly,' Even irgət 'gadfly,' Gold garmakta 'gnat.'

GILYAK har \sim xar.

• N 234, BK 332. Cf. LOUSE₁

435. WOUND (v.) wa

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *weH-, 'hit, wound,' *uehat (MA) '(sup-

purating) wound,' Lithuanian votis 'ulcer, abscess.'

ALTAIC: Proto-Tungus * $w\bar{a}$ - 'kill,' * $u\bar{a} \sim *w\bar{a}$ (Benzing 26) 'kill,' Evenki, Even $w\bar{a}$ - 'kill,' Manchu wa- 'kill,' Ulch $w\bar{a}wu$ 'kill.'

GILYAK va 'fight.' The fact that initial v- does not alternate with b, but is unchanging, indicates an origin in w-.

• IS 330

436. YEAR ana

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *en- 'in,' Lithuanian pér-n-ai 'in the last year,' Gothic fram fair-n-in jēra 'in the last year.'

PROTO-ALTAIC *āńu 'moon, month, year,' Proto-Turkic *āń 'moon, month,' Old Turkic, Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani aj 'moon, month,' Turkmen āj 'moon, month,' Chuvash ojax 'moon, month.' Middle Mongolian oin 'time,' Written Mongolian oi 'anniversary,' Khalkha oj 'anniversary,' Kalmyk ō 'year.' Proto-Tungus *ańŋa, *an(i)ga (Benzing 39), Manchu ańa, Ulch ańa(n), Orok anańi, Evenki anŋanī.

MIDDLE KOREAN na(h) 'years, age,' modern Korean na 'age.' GILYAK $a\acute{n}$, $a\acute{n}a\acute{n}$ 'every year.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi ano-n 'late spring,' Koryak anoan 'spring,' anok 'in spring.' Kamchadal anok 'spring' appears to be a borrowing from Koryak.

• BK 424

437. YELLOW ser

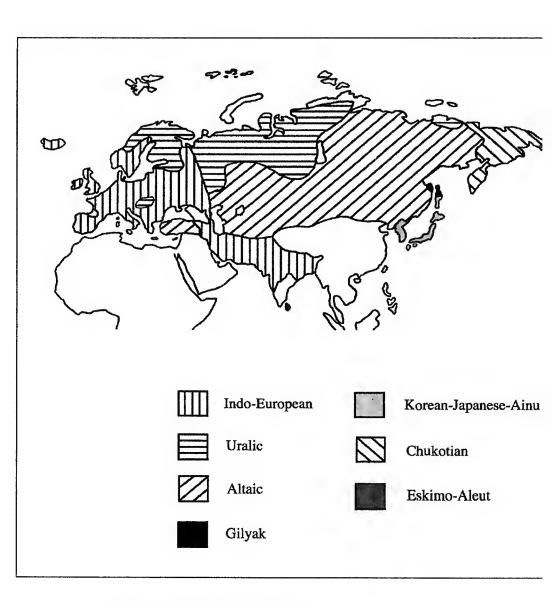
PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *ser- ~ *sor- 'red, reddish,' Latvian sarks 'reddish,' Latin sorbum 'a red berry,' Swedish sarf 'red eye.'

URALIC: Proto-Samoyed *ser 'white,' Enets siřoi 'white,' Selkup serį 'white,' Kamassian siri 'white.'

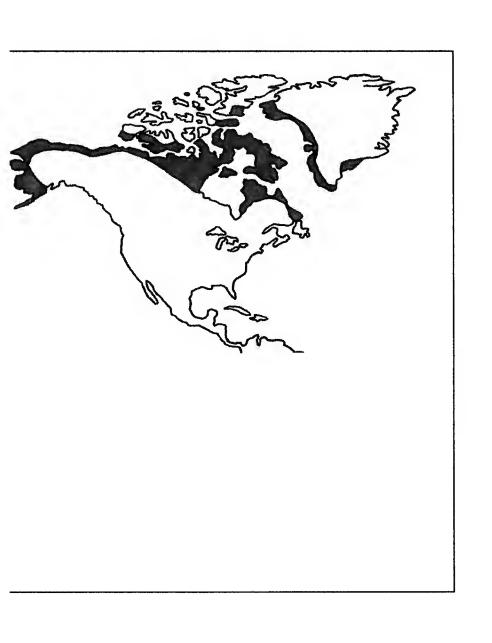
PROTO-ALTAIC *siājri, Proto-Turkic *siarig, Old Turkic sariy, Turkish, Tatar, Azerbaijani sari, Turkmen sāri, Chuvash šora 'white,' Yakut aragas. Middle Mongolian šira, Written Mongolian sira, Khalkha šar, Dagur šar(a), Monguor śira.

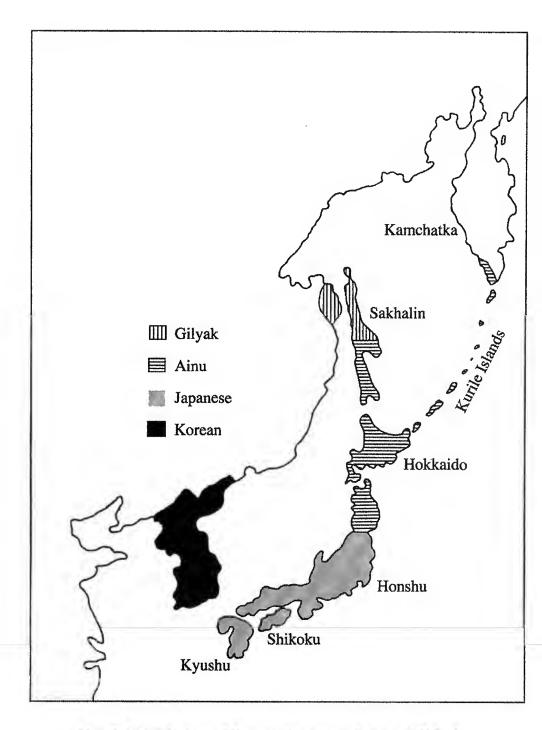
OLD Japanese siro- 'white,' modern Japanese shiro(-i) 'white,' Ryukuan siru 'white.'

CHUKOTIAN: Chukchi calg- 'red.'



Map 1. The Eurasiatic Family





Map 2. Distribution of Korean, Japanese, Ainu, and Gilyak

Classification of Eurasiatic Languages

The following classification of languages belonging to the Eurasiatic family includes all languages mentioned in the text. For a complete listing of languages belonging to the various branches of the Eurasiatic family (e.g. Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, etc.), the reader is referred to Ruhlen (1991). For certain languages significant dialects are given in parentheses following the language name, e.g. Yukaghir (Kolyma, Tundra, †Omok, †Chuvan). Language families are written in capital letters, individual languages and dialects in capital and small letters (though some families consist of a single language, e.g. Yukaghir, which is not closely related to any other language within Uralic).

EURASIATIC

- I †ETRUSCAN: †Etruscan
- II INDO-EUROPEAN:
 - A †ANATOLIAN: †Hittite, †Hieroglyphic Hittite, †Cuneiform Hittite, †Palaic, †Lydian, †Luwian, †Lycian
 - B ARMENIAN: Armenian, †Phrygian
 - C †TOCHARIAN: †Tocharian A (=Eastern), †Tocharian B (=Western)

D INDO-IRANIAN:

- 1 INDIC: †Sanskrit, †Vedic, †Rigveda, †Prakrit, †Old Indic
- 2 IRANIAN: †Avestan, †Old Persian
- E ALBANIAN: Albanian
- F GREEK: Greek (†Attic, †Doric, †Homeric, †Mycenean, †Aeolic, †Delphic, †Elean)
- G ITALIC: †Oscan, †Umbrian, †Venetic, †Latin, French
- H CELTIC: †Old Irish, Irish, Breton, Welsh
- I GERMANIC: †Gothic, †Old High German, †Old Norse, German, †Old Saxon, English, Frisian
- J BALTIC: †Old Prussian, Latvian, Lithuanian
- K SLAVIC: †Old Church Slavic, Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian

III URALIC-YUKAGHIR:

- A YUKAGHIR: Yukaghir (Kolyma, Tundra, †Omok, †Chuvan)
- B URALIC:
 - 1 SAMOYED:
 - a NORTH: Yurak (=Nenets), Enets (=Yenisei Samoyed), Tavgy (=Nganasan)
 - b SOUTH: Selkup (=Ostyak Samoyed) (Tāz, Ket, Tym), †Kamassian, †Motor, †Karagas, †Koibal, †Taigi
 - 2 FINNO-UGRIC:
 - a UGRIC: Hungarian, Vogul (=Mansi), Ostyak (=Xanty).
 - b FINNIC:
 - i PERMIAN: Komi-Zyrian, Udmurt (=Votyak)
 - ii VOLGAIC: Mordvin, Cheremis (=Mari)
 - iii NORTH FINNIC: Saami (=Lapp)(Kola), Finnish, Karelian, Veps, Votic, Estonian, Livonian

IV ALTAIC:

A TURKIC:

- 1 CHUVASH: Chuvash
- 2 COMMON TURKIC: †Old Turkish (=Uighur),

Turkish (Osmanli), Crimean Turkish, Gagauz, Turkmen, Chagatai, Azerbaijani, Uighur, Uzbek, Bashkir, Karaim, Kumyk, Tatar, Baraba, Crimean Tatar, Nogai, Karalkapak, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Yakut, Khakas, Sagai, Altai, Teleut, Shor, Tuvin, Karagas, Soyon

- B MONGOLIAN: †Classical Mongolian, Mongol, Moghol, Dunshan, Dagur, Monguor, Yellow Uighur, Baoan, Kalmyk, Buriat, Khalkha, Ordos
- C TUNGUSIC:
 - 1 NORTHERN: Even (=Lamut), Nigidal, Evenki, Solon, Orochon
 - 2 SOUTHERN: †Manchu, †Ju-chen, Nanai, Gold, Ulch, Orok, Oroch, Udihe

V KOREAN-JAPANESE-AINU:

- A KOREAN: Korean, Koguryo
- B JAPANESE-RYUKYUAN: Japanese, Ryukyuan
- C †AINU: †Ainu (Hokkaido, Sakhalin, Kuriles)
- VI GILYAK: Gilyak (=Nivkh) (Sakhalin, Amur)

VII CHUKOTIAN:

- A NORTHERN: Chukchi, Koryak (Chavchuven, Palana), Kerek, Aliutor
- B SOUTHERN: Kamchadal (Ukä, Sedanka)

VIII ESKIMO-ALEUT:

- A ALEUT: Aleut (Bering, Unalaska, Atka)
- B ESKIMO:
 - 1 SIRENIK: Sirenik
 - 2 YUPIK (=YUIT):
 - a SIBERIAN: Chaplino, Naukan
 - b ALUTIIQ: Chugach, Kodiak
 - c CENTRAL: Kuskokwim, Nunivak, Ekogmiut
 - 3 INUIT (=INUPIAQ): Inuit (St. Lawrence Island, Norton Sound, Kangianermiut, Seward Peninsula, Imaklik, Sigluit, Mackenzie, Hudson Bay, Southhampton Island, Labrador, Greenlandic)

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